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F I N I S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IN the following Essay, it is proposed to shew. from a variety of facts, supported by the authority of the best historians and chronologers, as well as by just criticism on the several texts of scripture therein mentioned, that the subversion of the Turkish Empire, and of the Papal power, will probably soon happen; and that the conversion and return of the Jews to their native country, and the beginning of the happy *millennium* predicted in the 20th chap. of the Revelation, are at no great distance.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following Essay does not apologize for his appearing in public, by pretending these common excuses, the importunity of friends, or the fear of having his sentiments misrepresented; but, as he is a Protestant, and free Briton, he judges it his duty to contribute his mite for promoting the public good, and honestly declares, that the following are the genuine reasons of publishing his hypothesis.

I. To incite others who have more time, and greater advantages, to a more accurate study of the propheticall stile, and of the history of the Christian church, that so, that much neglected book of the Revelation may be rescued from contempt; and that a new and striking argument of the truth of Christianity, and of the over-ruling providence of God, may be laid before the world: Which he supposes may be done to great advantage by men of true judgement, learning, and piety; as he is fully convinced, that this sacred book contains in it all the grand revolutions of the Christian church, from the apostles time to the present, and from this to the end of the world; the unfolding of which, in a distinct and regular manner, at least to the present times, would not fail to give a glorious display of the divine perfections, and possibly might be a key to the disclosing of many future and interesting events.

II. To stir up all ranks to a serious reformation of heart and life. Since God seems to be bringing about

about some great revolution in the world, and that suddenly; and that he always measures out his mercies or judgements to nations and kingdoms according to their moral or spiritual state; this awful consideration should engage each of us to humble ourselves before God, to put away the evil of our doings from before his eyes, and to bring forth fruit meet for repentance. Surely, if we have a just regard to ourselves, to our country, and posterity, if we sincerely wish well to the protestant interest both at home and abroad, this will be our practice. However bad we are at present, yet it is hoped there are many good persons amongst us; and if, upon this occasion, they should vigorously exert themselves according to their influence and opportunities, great and good effects, through God's blessing, might be expected.

III. To engage all serious and well disposed people to be frequent and fervent in their prayers to almighty God, that, by his over-ruling providence, the delusions of Mahomet, the tyranny, superstition, and idolatry of the church of Rome, may be perfectly abolished, and that the Christian religion, in its purity, spirituality, and efficacy, may be disseminated to the most distant corners of the world.—When God's judgments are abroad in the earth, and public matters are seemingly drawing nigh to some remarkable crisis, the saints should not be silent.—Never was there any signal deliverance granted, nor any special blessing conferred, without the fervent prayers of his people.

But possibly it may be said, If God had designed to reveal the state of the Christian church, and all its grand revolutions from the apostle John's time to the end of the world, then it might have been expected that he would have published this revelation

lation in a clear and intelligible stile, and not have wrapt it up in such dark and mysterious phrases, which, even after the supposed accomplishment, the learned and judicious can scarcely unravel, and must be a sealed and useless book to the bulk of mankind: And since an infinitely wise and good God must, by every revelation of his will, have always some end in view, worthy of himself, and conducive to the happiness of his creatures; and, as no such important end appears to be served by this; therefore it is highly probable that the Apocalypse is not of divine inspiration.

But the objectors ought to consider, that, besides the evidence whereby the inspiration of this book is equally proved with that of the other books of the New Testament, there were two important ends to be gained by this manner of revelation.

1st. That thereby we have an occasion offered, to exercise our mental faculties in the search of truth, about the most glorious objects in the universe, namely, the divine perfections, and the superintending providence of God, which, when discovered, cannot fail to awaken every pious sentiment in well-disposed minds. Whereas, if this revelation had been plain and obvious, our knowledge of these things would have been as natural as respiration. And it is evident, that, in this present state of the church, where there is no difficulty in the acquiring, there is commonly as little value set upon the enjoyment; and therefore, as they are pronounced blessed who read this book, so this blessing is not prostituted to the lazy and indolent, but bestowed as the reward of industry and application.

ally, If God had revealed the future various revolutions of the church in a perspicuous manner, then human liberty, or the freedom of the will, would have been greatly limited; so that there could not have been such a proper trial of the worth of human actions as in the present case. For example, If God had in so many words pointed out the church of Rome to be the spiritual Babylon of the Apocalypse, Who then would have chosen to continue in her communion? or wherein would the remarkable virtue of our reformers have appeared?

Besides, such a clear revelation, without a constant succession of miracles, would have prevented the accomplishment. This is plain from the behaviour of king Herod, who being informed by the eastern Magi of the birth of the Messiah, and by the chief priests of the Jews, that he was to be born at Bethlehem, would have put him to death, if this had not been prevented by the mission of an angel to Joseph, or some such miraculous interposition.

Upon these accounts, it was infinitely worthy of God, to give us such a revelation as we have by the apostle John; whereby he hath dealt with us exactly according to our nature and condition, neither encroaching upon our liberty, nor superseding our diligence, but giving us both a proper trial, and a proper exercise.

Though, after all, we have reason to think, nay, we may certainly believe it, that against, or immediately before, the happy millennium, when this sort of trial shall be finished, every cloud of mystery shall then be scattered, and this revelation, in all its parts, will be perfectly understood; and, since the scene begins to open more and more, we have

ground

ground to conclude that these happy days are at no great distance. I find, indeed, that some pious persons, who greatly wish the speedy accomplishment of the events mentioned in the essay, are of opinion that they must be at a great distance; because they imagine it to be highly improbable that such events should take place in an age so much sunk into infidelity and wickedness. But here I would observe, that, ever since miracles ceased, men have been so much accustomed to look to outward appearances, that they have often forgot the power of God. Even Moses at the Red sea desired the people 'to stand still,' until God should open a passage for them; but the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? 'Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.' The infidelity and wickedness of this age is, no doubt, very great; but, whilst a freedom of inquiry is allowed, and the voice of reason may be heard, they cannot be deemed such great obstacles to the success of the gospel, as the spiritual tyranny and idolatry which universally prevailed before the reformation. It was then death to assert the truth. But, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that the prevalence of deism and scepticism; hath, by the over-ruling providence of God, occasioned the noblest defences of natural and revealed religion that have appeared since the days of the apostles. And it highly deserves our serious attention, that in no part of the apocalypse is deism pointed out as a cause of the subversion of true religion; or of the oppression of God's people. These are wholly ascribed to papal tyranny and idolatry. And as there is reason to think, that the propension of the age to deism, arises not from any settled principles, but from the love of vice; so it is highly probable that public danger, and somewhat of the discipline of the rod (which indeed we have ground to expect) will incline men to sober
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and serious thoughts. And, if once they shall be brought to these, then the means of instruction and reformation, through the mercy of God, will every where be found in great abundance. But at any rate the natural difficulties, I would say impossibilities, in the way of a general reformation, are not greater than those which the Israelites had to encounter at the Red Sea. And since God hath nowhere declared, that he will work no more miracles, but, on the contrary, we have reason, from many of the Old Testament prophecies, to expect a repetition of them in the latter times; so we ought ever to remember these remarkable words of God by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lxvi. v. 8. 9. ‘Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? Or shall a nation be born at once? For as soon as Zion travelled she brought forth her children. Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth?’ And is it not very observable, that this prophecy must be conceived chiefly to relate to the sudden and unexpected conversion of the Jews in the last times?

The few alterations which are in this edition will appear to every attentive reader, to be made not in the principles, nor general plan (for these are precisely the same as in the former edition), but either in the application of some of the prophecies to particular events, or in the chronology. As to the first kind, the only material alteration is in page 58. where I have fixed the æra of the papacy to A. D. 512, or to a year or two thereafter; whereas I had fixed it in the former edition to the year 503, or 504. However, by comparing both editions, it will be found, that I used the very same medium, namely, *the universal peace amongst the Ten Kings in the Roman empire*, to ascertain the above mentioned

mentioned æra. By this peace their Kingdoms were established, and, at their establishment, we are assured from Rev. xvii. 12. that the æra of the papacy would commence. Such an universal peace happened A. D. 503, or 504, as I observed page 57. But as it appears from history, that the Princes who made this peace were very insincere, and that it continued only until A. D. 507. I therefore made no account of it for some years before I printed the essay, and had placed the æra of the papacy to the year 512, when the universal peace was confirmed by the death of Clovis King of the Franks, and by the establishment of his four sons in the government of his dominions. But, the year before it was printed, I changed my opinion, and fixed this æra to the year 503. And, as the papal government, according to Rev. 13. 5. was to continue 42 months, or 1260 years, I imagined that it might suffer some *remarkable depression* in the year 1763 or 1764; concluding from the prodigious success of the British arms, the great provocation the King of Prussia had received from the Queen of Hungary, and the extraordinary friendship then shewn to him by the Emperor of Russia, that it was highly probable, that the fall of the papacy might be very near; and that the universal peace concluded in 503, or 504, altho' it was of short duration, might be intended as a mark of the æra of its commencement. However, from a regard to my original calculation, I signified in my preface to the first edition, page vii. that *I could not think, that I had antedated the æra of the papacy nine or ten years.* It is also well known, whilst the essay was in the press, that I sent my first calculation to be inserted by way of a note; but, as the printing was so far advanced, that it could not be inserted in its proper place, I gave manuscript copies of it to several of my friends, who have still preserved them.

The only alteration which I have made in chronology, is in that long calculation of the 2300 prophetic days or years mentioned by the prophet Daniel, chap. viii. 13. 14. And, as this hath cost me a great deal of labour, I would fain hope, that it may meet with a favourable reception from the public.

As to any other additions, they are either such as serve to throw greater light on the subject, or are reflections upon the events which have happened since the former edition was published.

The only objection which occurs to the author against publishing this essay at present, is this obvious one, namely, if matters should issue in a quite different manner from what is here supposed, in that case the hypothesis, instead of serving, in any degree, to confirm the authority of the book of Revelation, may have a tendency to expose it to the contempt and derision of the profane, and of such who have no established principles of religion, and the author of the essay, to the charge of *enthusiasm* and *cr. dulity*.

But though matters should not happen as the author supposes (of which he is not much afraid, when he considers the number and strength of the arguments advanced by him in support of his hypothesis); yet he does not see, that either his, or the character of that sacred book, which is infinitely more valuable, can justly suffer any thing by the essay; since the author does not pretend to an absolute certainty as to the precise time of the accomplishment of these prophecies, but only to a probability, and consequently allows that he may be mistaken. And it is not to be wondered at if he should, since the hypothesis chiefly depends upon
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fixing the æra of the papacy, and of the testimony of the witnesses, concerning which, he only offers what hereckons a very probable conjecture, though indeed, upon the strictest and most impartial review, he cannot think that he hath antedated it much.

If then, any thing in this essay shall contribute to engage serious people to their duty, the author will gain his principal point, and reckon himself very little concerned, to take notice of the groundless censures of profane and thoughtless persons, who, whilst they continue slaves to their passions, will always take the best designs by the worst handle.

Before I conclude this preface, I must be allowed to acknowledge my surprise, that Sir Isaac and Dr Newton, should have been so free in their censures against those who have attempted to make a calculation of future events from the prophecies; since both those learned gentlemen have made no scruple, positively to fix the æra of the papal reign to the eighth century, and the end of it to the twentieth. And indeed he must be a very cool and dispassionate commentator upon the apocalypse, who, notwithstanding the great encouragement given to study this book, and the long chain of accomplishments already past, will not adventure to offer a probable conjecture concerning the first of those important events, though it is generally believed, that it hath happened a great many centuries ago.

In this I indeed agree with them, that the events are the best interpreters of the prophecies, and, in conformity to this sentiment, I again declare, that
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the amazing events which happened in the second year of the German war, were the motives which induced me to attempt the following calculation ; as also that the succeeding ones, so precisely corresponding with the explanations in the essay, have now fully resolved my doubts, concerning the propriety of this publication.

I N T R O

INTRODUCTION.

TO the honour of our country it must be acknowledged, that the Baron of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms, and who favoured the learned world with many other useful discoveries; of whom the present Lord Napier is descended, and whom he worthily represents; I say, it must be acknowledged, that this great luminary of our nation was the first of the reformers, who, with vast sagacity, penetrated into the mysteries of the Apocalypse. He has, with irresistible strength of argument, shewn, that Rome is the apocalyptic Babylon; that the pope, together, with his clergy and the papal powers, represent the two political beasts mentioned in that prophecy; that, by the witnesses in the 11th chapter, we are to understand the true church of God, and particularly the reformers, in the latter days of their testimony; that the first two in the 9th chapter, doth point out the desolation of the Greek empire by the Saracens, and the second that occasioned by the Turks.

It must be owned, that he was mistaken in some of his calculations; and where is the man who is perfectly infallible? But certainly he paved the way to succeeding writers on this subject, though few have had the ingenuity to acknowledge the obligation.

Several new discoveries have been made since his time; but, though both Sir Isaac Newton and Mr Mede have laid down many useful rules for understanding the prophetic stile, yet it is to be regretted, that, the last mentioned worthy and learned person excepted, all the rest of the commentators, whose writings have come into the author's hands, have

have too much neglected the most essential rule of all; namely, when any figure occurs which is not explained by the text or context, without indulging our imaginations, we should have recourse to other passages in the prophetic works where the meaning of it is explained.

For, since the prophets lived in the same country, for the most part wrote to the same people, used generally one language, and were under the inspiration of one spirit, have we not then reason to conclude that their style was uniform? Besides, since God hath promised to bless the endeavours of such who make the book of Revelation their study, can it be imagined that he hath left them without a key to open these otherwise inscrutable mysteries?

Now, it is obvious to every person of the most common understanding, that the application of the above mentioned rule, together with a proper knowledge of the constitution and history of the church of God under the Old and New Testaments, is the only key which can be successful.

Inattention to this simple rule, an indulgence of fancy, and too fond an attachment to some favourite scheme, have evidently been the occasions of most of the blunders and inconsistencies to be found in writings of this kind. Hence one author explains the pouring out of the vial upon the sun, by the sweating sickness. And the great Sir Isaac Newton (though in other respects he hath written admirably), yet alas! he hath evidently fallen into the same kind of mistake, when he affirms the dragon, the earth, and the two horned beast, each of them to represent the Greek empire. Whereas, if he had attended to the language of scripture, he would have found, that the word *serpent*, when it is not taken in a proper sense, always represents the devil, not only in the prophetic parts of scripture, but also

In its more simple and doctrinal stile ; and in Revelation 12th chapter 9th verse, that the great dragon or old serpent is expressly declared to be the devil or satan ; and that neither of the other two do signify the Greek empire, it is hoped, shall be made fully to appear in the following essay.

This was the more inexcusable in Sir Isaac, since he acknowledges that he had read Mr Mede's learned and judicious comment upon the Apocalypse ; so that his mistake must have proceeded either from inattention, or from too strong an inclination of writing something new and uncommon. But, if men will suffer themselves to be hurried away by their imaginations in explaining scripture figures, they may make any thing out of any thing, which is worse than doing nothing at all.

As the three chief pillars upon which the hypothesis seems to stand, are,

1st, The character, æra, and duration of the two beasts mentioned Revelation 13th chapter :

2^{dly}, The character of the witnesses in the 17th chapter, together with the grand events predicted to happen at the finishing of their testimony ; And,

3^{dly}, The explication of the seven last vials recorded in the 16th chapter. For the sake of method, therefore, each of these subjects is treated in different chapters, which are divided into more or fewer sections, as the matter of each doth require.

And, as the reader may expect that a sacred regard will be had to that explication of phrases and figures which the scripture itself doth present ; so he is desired to carry along with him in his mind these two leading sentiments, which will serve to throw a light upon the whole.

1st, That it is not the principal design of the Apocalypse to point out the temporal government of Rome, but its spiritual ; and that the temporal
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state thereof is only occasionally mentioned as a mark or evidence of the changes which were to happen in its spiritual state.

2dly, That the Apocalypse doth not charge the church of Rome with any particular errors in doctrine which she might have in common with other churches, but only with the crime of spiritual whoredom or idolatry.

One thing farther the author begs leave to take notice of, by way of prevention, that he is greatly astonished to observe some, otherwise of sober principles, who imagine themselves justly intitled to laugh immoderately as often as the beast with seven heads and ten horns is mentioned. But, to mortify this criminal levity, let such reflect, that this picture was not formed by such a weak and distempered imagination as theirs, but presented by that God who made all things, and whose understanding is infinite. This consideration, one would think, should be sufficient to overawe our spirits, and to compose us into the strictest decency of temper and behaviour.

Besides, to an attentive mind, this emblematical representation is both just and highly significant. For where is the impropriety in representing a community by a beast or animal which consists of various members, intimately connected with each other, to every one of which, respective offices do belong, under the direction of their common head? In fact, there is nothing more ordinary, than for the finest writers upon government, to term that kingdom or state to which they belong, the body political.

But if it should be said in excuse, that it is not the emblem of an ordinary beast or animal that provokes their ridicule, but the monstrous form of one with seven heads and ten horns; the answer is plain, that the objection proceedeth from inattention.

For,

For, if such persons had been at pains to consider the angel's explication of this political beast in the 17th chapter, they would have soon been convinced, that all the seven heads did not exist at once, but only one at a time, each, after the first, succeeding in its order. And thus, as a man is said to be the head of his wife; so that woman who has had seven husbands may be figuratively said to have had seven heads, not indeed at once, but in succession. As to the ten horns, it shall be afterwards shewn, that these belong only to the seventh or last head.

Lastly, the Author acknowledges, that, as an accidental reading of Mr Mede's commentary gave the first occasion of turning his thoughts upon the Apocalypse; so he hath been greatly obliged to his sentiments through the whole of this performance. He owns that he hath often transcribed them; not indeed from the silly vanity of pluming himself with borrowed feathers, but thereby to lead the reader to sentiments and conclusions of his own, which, as they receive a stability from his, so the force of them could not have been so properly seen, especially by persons unacquainted with writings of this kind, without the observation of some such method.

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R E V E L A T I O N
O F T H E
A P O S T L E J O H N,

C H A P. I.

*Of the Character, Æra, and Duration of the two
Beasts mentioned in the 13th Chapter of the
Revelation.*

S E C T. I.

*Of the Character and Duration of the ten-horned or se-
cular Beast.*

BY this image we are plainly to understand the fourth beast mentioned by Daniel, 7th chapter, verse 7. or the last great empire, namely the Roman. For the dominion of the three first beasts, which the prophet Daniel saw in vision, and which represented the Babylonian, Persian, and Grecian

Grecian empires, had ended long before the apostle's time. And the angel, in the 17th chapter of the Revelation, tells us, that, by the seven heads, in the first place, is pointed out the seat of this last empire, viz. the city of Rome, which was built upon seven hills, or seven principal eminences : And again, that, by the seven heads, we are to understand seven kings, that is, seven different kinds of government, which were to take place therein. For by kings, that we are not to conceive single persons cloathed with regal power, but different governments, is evident from Daniel, 7th chapter, 17th verse, where the four beasts, which represent the four great empires, are said to be four kings.

Now, in the forequoted 17th chapter of the Revelation, we are told, that five of these governments were fallen in the apostles's time, and that one existed; which was precisely the case as to the Roman state; for the only governments which had born the supreme sway at Rome before the vision of the apostle, were the kingly, consular, tribunitia, decemviral, and dictatorial. These, in a succession, one after another, had fallen, and the Cæsarian then existed; and we are there told, that the ' other was not yet come, and, when he came, ' that he must continue but a short space.'

The other in the original is *ἄλλος*, *alius generis*, one of a distinct species from all the seven. This must have happened when christianity, unmixed with heathen idolatry, was countenanced and established by the supreme ruler of the state; and this government may be said to have begun A. D. 313, when Constantine the Great first published his edicts in favour of christianity : For as he and his successors, down to the reign of Gratian, assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, or of high priest, so they exercised the office, in directing and superintending the whole affairs of the church. Gratian was the first

first who refused this dignity, and conferred it upon the bishop of Rome, and his successors, A. D. 378; from which we may, with great propriety, date the birth or origin of papal government, though it did not attain to its maturity, till the beginning of the sixth century, as shall afterwards be shewn.

So that this government of the ~~xxx~~ which continued little more than sixty years, was, according to the prediction, but of short duration, whether we compare it with that of the heathen Cæsars which preceded it, or with the reign of the beast which followed it: And as it was of a different kind from the seven, being destitute of the essential character which belonged to them, namely, the idolatrous form; therefore it is not numbered with them.

By the seventh head, we are to understand the last species of government which the beast, or Roman state, was to receive. This was the beast, in its last form, which the apostle saw in vision, and which the angel tells him, in the 17th chapter, 11th verse, "is the beast that was, and is not;" that is, was under the former five heads, and for some time had been under the sixth, but had not as yet appeared in its last shape; and according to the 8th verse of that chapter, "it was afterwards to ascend out of the abyss, and go into perdition;" that is, it would receive this last form of government from satan the prince of darkness, and, under this form of government, its power would be utterly destroyed.

This last head is said to flourish with ten horns, and these were to be decorated with ten crowns; and the angel, in the 17th chapter, explains the "ten horns to be ten kings, who had not received a kingdom as yet;" which expression evidently fixes them to the seventh head, and shews, that, in this last form of government, the Roman empire was to be divided into ten royalties.

And

And again it is said, "these shall receive power as kings one hour with the beast." This points out the commencement of the reign of the beast, in its last form, and whose mighty deeds are recorded in the beginning of the 13th chapter, namely, that it was to begin precisely at that time when the ten kingly governments should be fully established in the empire, upon the ruins of the Cæsarian or sixth head. But this æra of the beast will be treated of in a particular section by itself. It is added as the distinctive characteristic of all the heads, that upon them was the "name of blasphemy."

By the name of blasphemy, we are, by way of eminency, to understand idolatry. For the highest degree of blasphemy against God, is the offering that divine worship to the creature, which is due to the Creator: And thus, Ezékiel, 20th chapter, from the 27th to 31st verse, God calls it a blaspheming of him, "when the Israelites, upon every high hill, and under the thick trees, offered their sacrifices, and polluted themselves with idols:" And Isaiah, 65th chapter, 6th and 7th verses, "I will recompense into their bosom, their iniquities, and the iniquities of their fathers together, saith the Lord, which have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills." Besides, what other blasphemy is there to be found, which is common to all the seven heads, but this one, namely, idolatry? Surely there is none.

From what has been already observed, it must follow, that this last government includes in it the community of these ten kings and their subjects, and the form is idolatry. Farther, the animating spirit is the dragon, or old serpent, who is said, in the 4th verse, "to give his power to the beast;" and the rider, who directs and superintends its motions, is the whore, who, Revelation 17th chapter, 3d verse, is represented as "sitting upon the beast;" and, in the

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18th verse of that chapter, is explained to be that "great city which reigneth over these Kings," that is, the *sedes Romana*, or one who presides in the city of Rome, and gives law to the ten kings and their subjects; and who is more fully described in the 13th chapter, from the 11th verse, by the "beast with two horns like a lamb."

And since the character and duration of the beast described from the 1st to the 11th verse of the 13th chapter, cannot possibly belong to any other mode of government but the last; it is therefore clearly evident, that the first six heads of government are represented in that vision, only as marks or signs, by which we may know the seventh.

Which last form of government in the Roman empire is said, verse 2d, † to have in it a resemblance to the manner, and genius of the first three grand empires; namely, to the Babylonian typified, in Daniel, by a Lyon, to the Persian by a Bear, and to the Grecian by a Leopard. Thus, as the Grecian was divided into four monarchies, this was to be divided into ten; as the Persian was supported by the authority of their magi, or priests, this was to be upheld in a similar manner; and as Nebuchadnezzar, and the rest of the Babylonish princes, enforced the practice of idolatry, by terrible threatenings and inhuman punishments, so in this very way was this government to exert itself.

Farther, the apostle, in the vision, perceived the "dragon or satan, to give this ten horned beast his "power, his seat, and great authority." His power, In the original *τὴν δύναμιν*, that is, as Mr Mede justly explains it, his armies or forces. Thus Exodus 14th chapter, 28th verse, "and the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen,

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and

† See chapter 13th, verse 2d; and the reader is desired, as he proceeds, to compare the whole verses of that chapter with the following explication.

“and all the host of Pharaoh;” in the Septuagint, *πασαν τὴν δύναμιν φαραω*; and Exodus 15th chapter, 4th verse, “his host, or his army, *τὴν δύναμιν*; hath he “cast into the sea.” And Matthew, 24th chapter, 30th verse, “the Son of man *is said* to come in the clouds “of heaven,” *μετα δυνάμεως* which is explained in the following chapter, by his coming “with all his “holy angels.” But what are the forces of satan, but his angels, or those idols, which are the habitations of his demons? Now these forces he delivered to this beast, in its last form, that they might be worshipped and adored; by engaging the inhabitants of the Roman empire, who had now embraced christianity, to substitute in the place of their God and Saviour, his angels as proper objects of worship; not indeed adorned with those titles, whereby they formerly professed themselves the enemies of Christ our Lord, but courting and soliciting the public regard, under the mask of saints, of good angels, and even of Christ himself. But he who worships idols, by what name soever he calls them, is a worshipper of demons. These “satan delivered to the beast, with his seat *or throne*, and “great authority;” that is, the whole of his power, which had been lately overthrown (as appears from the former chapter) by Michael, and his angels, or the christian martyrs and confessors; so that Satan, in this last form of government, recovered all the antient power and authority which he formerly exercised in heathen Rome.

We are told in the 3d verse, that the apostle “saw “one of the beasts heads,” namely, the sixth, or Cæsarian, “as if it had been wounded to death.” The transition from all the other heads to the succeeding ones, was without a wound; but, in the transition from the sixth to the seventh, the *αλλος*, or truly christian government, took place, which, though it lasted but a short time, yet by it the whole fabric of heathen

heathen idolatry, was, in a great measure demolished.

Now the apostle saw, in the vision, this wound compleatly healed, and idolatry fully restored, at the commencement of this last form of government; for "upon all the seven heads was the name of blasphemy." And he perceived the whole inhabitants of the Roman empire admiring the wisdom of their governors, in restoring the practice of idolatry; and as, in the 4th verse, subjecting themselves to Satan tempting them to it, and to the civil powers, who were Satan's instruments in supporting it, chusing, either from an admiration of their wisdom, or for fear of punishment, to obey men under the influence of Satan, rather than God, to whom supreme obedience is for ever due.

Hitherto, we have had an account of the form and establishment of the beast, under the seventh head. In the 5th verse is explained, by what means he was to exert that power committed to him by the dragon, viz. two ways, by blasphemy against God, and threatening terrible things against the saints. And the duration of this government is fixed to forty-two months, which being calendar months, consisting each of thirty days, and each day, according to the prophetic stile, being a year, in all, amounts to 1260 years; which is the time that the witnesses in 11th chapter are said to "testify in sackcloth, *that the woman was to continue in the wilderness, and that the outer court was to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles,*" or the restorers of idolatry.

The duration of this last government being thus fixed, immediately thereafter, in the 6th verse, we have an account how it would commence, viz. by the general practice of idolatry, here as formerly called by the name of blasphemy; the worship of idols being the highest affront offered to God.

“ And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.” By the name of God, we are to understand God himself; and God is vilified and affronted, when that worship which is due to him alone is given to any of his creatures: The tabernacle of God is Jesus Christ our mediator, in whom *the father dwells*; and the beast may be said to blaspheme, or reproach our Saviour, in addressing God, by any other intercessor, since he is the “ only mediator between God and man; and to blaspheme them that dwell in heaven,” namely angels and departed saints, by impiously invoking them as their guardians and intercessors, ascribing to them numberless pretended miracles, and calling their idols by their names.

These are mentioned as the first actions of the secular beast, after it had begun its new reign, namely, that it would exert itself in promoting, increasing, and maintaining idolatry, in its most abominable forms; consequently, the commencement, or rather the full establishment of this reign, must be dated from that time when idolatry in all its different kinds became general. For, in the vision, it is first observed, that the “ beast opened his mouth “ in blasphemy; and then he made war with the “ saints.” And it is evident from history, that the persecution of the saints, the other distinguishing mark of this beast, was not begun until idolatry had reached its utmost height; when it became so gross and abominable, as not only to be discovered by the more intelligent, which had been the case all along, but to be felt and abhorred by the most simple and illiterate.

This happened in the twelfth century, when many thousands of the common people in France, in Piedmont, and Germany, openly declared against the monstrous idolatry then practised, affirming

Rome

Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, and the pope to be antichrist. Then the Roman pontiff, the rider of the ten-horned beast, having before this event broken the temporal power of the German Emperors, and reduced the rest of the potentates in the western empire into a state of absolute dependence upon his authority, issued a new kind of crusades, ordered them to arm their subjects against these opposers of idolatry, and to punish them as the enemies of God and religion. In obedience to whose commands, Thuanus writes, that as great armies were levied as those which formerly were employed against the Saracens. By which means, and by erecting the horrid tribunal of the inquisition, those faithful witnesses of Jesus-Christ were overcome and oppressed, many thousands of them being tortured to death in the most cruel and barbarous manner.

Thus, the idolatrous beast, under the direction of its governor the pope, by these terrible and inhuman punishments, maintained its empire over all kindreds, tongues, and nations: For tho' there were, in every age, some particular persons, who preserved their fidelity to Jesus Christ; yet it is certain, that, for many ages, there was no city, nor state, nor kingdom in christendom, which did not submit to the prevailing idolatry.

But, for supporting the faith and patience of the saints, they are told, in the 8th verse, that "their names were written in the lamb's book of life;" and, in the 10th verse, that the time was approaching, when God, "to whom vengeance doth belong," would demand the just punishment of such butcheries and cruelties, and make this furious beast suffer a full equivalent for all the severities exercised upon the saints.

Thus

Thus far concerning the secular beast, which is so lively a picture of the rise and progress of the principles and practices of the popish powers in Europe, that, it is hoped, no further application is necessary.

S E C T II.

Of the Character of the two-horned or ecclesiastical Beast.

THIS beast, which is described from the 11th verse to the end of the 13th chapter, is, as afterwards will appear, plainly typical of the pope of Rome and his clergy. For he cannot be said by himself alone, without his clergy, to make up the beast, since, according to the constant tenor of the prophetic stile, a beast doth denote a society consisting of various members under one head.

This beast is observed to rise out of the earth, that is, out of a mean and low state*, gradually and

* That by the original word *γῆ*, here and in several other places in this book, translated *earth*, is to be understood an externally mean and low state, is evident from the contrast between heaven and earth, in the 12th chapter, 8th and 9th verses; where, in the lofty and figurative stile of the prophecy, we are told that the great dragon, that old serpent called the devil and satan, was cast down from heaven to the earth. This, according to Mr Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and others, and also according to the plain connection of this with the following events there predicted, was fulfilled when Constantine, having overthrown the tyrants Maxentius and Maximinus, was caught up, as it is expressed, unto God and his throne, that is, was exalted to the imperial dignity, whereby satan was divested of that supreme power and authority, of which he had been possessed in the reign of the heathen Cæsars, and his empire was confined to the lower ranks and orders of men.

and imperceptibly, as trees and plants spring from the earth. This was literally true as to the bishops of Rome, who, from an externally mean and despicable condition under the heathen emperors, at length, by the indulgence of Christian princes, and the singular advantage of their situation, gradually raised themselves to the height of earthly power and grandeur.

Farther, he is said "to have two horns like a lamb." It is evident from the 8th verse of this chapter, and also from a variety of passages in the New Testament, that by *the lamb* we are to understand our Saviour: And though both in this and in the prophecy of Daniel, horns represent empires or governments, yet they are frequently used by the prophets, to signify power and authority. The metaphor being taken from those beasts, whose principal defence and greatest power lies in their horns. Thus 75th Psalm, 4th and 5th verses, "I said unto the wicked, lift not up the horn, speak not with a stiff neck," i. e. be not too much elated by a vain confidence in your power; and, 10th verse, "I will cut off the horns of the wicked," that is, I will humble their power and arrogance.

By the two horns then, we may either conceive that double government or jurisdiction, the one in heaven, and the other in earth, to which the pope pretends; or, which is the same thing, that two-fold power of binding and loosing, delegated by Christ to Peter and the rest of the apostles, which, in some sort, resembles that power of which our Lord himself was possessed, since he told them, John 20th chapter and 21st verse, "that as the father had sent him, even so did he send them." Now this authority the pope with his clergy have usurped and appropriated to themselves; on that account, he, as their head, calls himself the vicar of Christ, and by this pretended power, he hath

hitherto defended himself, propagated and maintained the empire of idolatry.

But he spake as a dragon, like that great red dragon whom Michael, as in the preceeding chapter, had cast out of the imperial throne, namely, those heathen emperors who had been Satan's high priests. Like them, this new pontif was to patronize, by his authority and decrees, the worship of demons; and, in the same manner also, to cause the chaste and sincere worshippers of the lamb to be destroyed by cruel butcheries and terrible persecutions. This was the little horn mentioned by Daniel, "who was to come up among the ten, and *was to speak great things,*" blasphemous things against God, and by his anathemas, dreadful things against men.

In the 12th verse, he is said to "exercise all the power of the first beast before him;" that is, in a visible and conspicuous manner as a high priest, he was to regulate and superintend the whole system of idolatry which the dragon had given to the secular beast, as the proper form of worship, "and causeth the earth, and them that dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed." As the mortal wound, which the Roman idolatrous beast received from the emperor Constantine, was fully healed when it emerged *out of the sea*; so the very existence of this last form of government was chiefly owing to this high priest, as to its parent, and likewise all the obedience which was given to it by the nations. For it shall be afterwards shewn, that he applied himself strenuously to bring all the inhabitants of the ancient Roman empire under its absolute subjection.

In the 13th and 14th verses, we have a particular account of the means and instruments whereby he accomplished this impious design; "and he doth great wonders, so that he maketh fire to come down

“down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men; and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of those miracles, which he hath power to do in the sight of the beast.”

The instruments used by this false prophet, whereby he persuaded the nations to frame the image of the beast which was slain under the sixth head, and by which he was to defend and support it when made, are chiefly these two, the apparatus of miracles, and the thunder-bolts of excommunication. By the first he was to sooth them into error, and by the second, to humble the contumacy of the disobedient.

In the 13th verse, both of them are mentioned. As to the miracles, we have these words; “He doth great wonders;” and, with respect to excommunication: “He maketh fire to come down from heaven in the sight of men;” for instead of what we have rendered, according to the common edition of the original, “he doth great wonders, so that he maketh fire to come down from heaven;” we are told by Mr Mede, that, according to the Complutensian edition, supported by several authorities, the text in our translation should run thus: “He doth great wonders, and that fire should come down from heaven;” whereby the nature of the spiritual anathema is strongly pointed out, which is very properly compared to celestial fire or a thunder-bolt. For, to adjudge a person in the name of God to eternal punishment, What softer a meaning can such an action bear, than the calling down fire from heaven to consume him? especially when we consider, that the punishment of the wicked is so frequently held forth in this book, by their being “cast into the lake of fire and brimstone;” and also, that the popish clergy, in pronouncing their excommunications, used to throw down lighted torches as typical of that everlasting punishment.

to which they pretended to subject the excommunicated.

As to the more particular accomplishment of this prophecy, it is well known, that all the idolatry which hath prevailed in the kingdom of the beast for more than these twelve centuries past, the first species of it, which was founded in the worship of deceased saints, of reliques, and of angels, the next in the adoration of images, or lastly the monstrous blasphemy of a Wafer-God, in consequence of the belief of transubstantiation; I say, it is well known, that all this idolatry was first recommended as plausible, then urged as necessary, and afterwards deeply rivetted upon the minds of poor Christians, by a close succession of pretended miracles, such as devils seemingly ejected, various cures performed upon the diseased, strange visions, and an innumerable train of other astonishing wonders; the whole of which, the two-horned beast, or the pope and his emissaries the priests, may be said to do, in so far as they either forged them, or being invented by others, they approved them; or, when to seduce the Christian world, they imposed upon their credulity; by making them believe, that the real operations or juggling tricks of evil spirits, were true and divine miracles. And this is what the apostle foretells, in his epistle to the Thessalonians, that the "coming of the man of sin would be according to the working of satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and deceivableness of unrighteousness."

With respect to excommunication, this was the other instrument by which the popes defended this image in its first formation, and all along until it attained to its utmost perfection; and ever since it has been thereby supported. For it is very evident from the history of the fifth century; and mentioned by Lactantius in his account of that period, that the source of all that idolatry, which was then offered

ferred to the Virgin Mary, and which hath been encreased and continued to the present times, was that blasphemous title then given to her, θεοτοκος, deipara, or the mother of God: And though Nestorius and Eutyches, the first the bishop, and the second the archimandrite of Constantinople, are branded with the name of heretics by those who defended that impious designation; yet it is plain, that the origin, from whence Nestorius's mistake flowed, was an honest zeal against this impiety, and a sincere, tho' ill-conducted design, of putting a stop to it in its rise; and there is some reason for thinking that Eutyches afterwards had also the same intention.

The consequence of which was, that chiefly by means of the Roman bishops Celestine and Leo, both of them, at different times, were condemned, excommunicated, and deprived of their offices; and, as Eugarius relates, Nestorius, who first appeared in the opposition, was, by orders of the emperor Theodosius the second, sent bound into Egypt, where, after he had undergone the most painful and disgraceful usage, he fell, unpitied, a sacrifice to the malice of his enemies. And the council of Ephesus, which sat A. D. 431, wherein (Nestorius was condemned, and Celestine's legates presided) amongst other things decreed, that this should be held an article of faith, that the Virgin Mary was the mother of God.

Thus the bishops of Rome supported and defended this species of idolatry in its embryo; and, when once it was generally received as an orthodox doctrine, that the Virgin Mary was the mother of God *, (it being dangerous to oppose it after the fatal

* Some may possibly think that this appellation given to the Virgin Mary may be defended from that expression of the apostle, Acts 20th chapter, 28th verse, "Feed the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." But it must

fatal examples of Nestorius and Eutyches) can it be any matter of wonder, that such an ignorant and superstitious age should pay her divine honours? Surely it cannot, if we consider these two things :

1st, That, from the beginning of this, viz. the fifth century, to the end of it; the western empire was continually over run by these barbarous nations, who had been bred in heathen idolatry ; and though

be observed, that the inspired penmen of the holy scriptures (after they have expressed the general doctrines of our faith in the clearest terms) do often, as well as other writers, leave out some words, which should be supplied by the readers, to complete the sense. Not to multiply instances, hath it not been demonstrated, in the fullest manner, that, when our Lord called the sacramental bread his body, he could mean nothing by the expression, but that the bread was the sign or representation of his body? In like manner, the Apostle's design, in his exhortation to the elders of Ephesus, could be nothing else, but to press the pastoral duty from the consideration of our Lord's divinity, and of his purchasing the church by the sufferings of his human nature, which, by his incarnation, was united to the divine. For it is impossible to imagine that the apostle, who, upon other occasions, discoursed with so much looseness and precision concerning the divine nature, could have entertained the monstrous thought, that a body or blood was any part of it. No imaginable union can justify such an opinion ; since it is impossible for that which is infinite to become finite, or that which is finite to become infinite. And therefore, in strict language, the Virgin Mary could only be called the mother of our Lord according to the flesh, or the mother of Jesus according to his human nature ; and she can with no more propriety be called the mother of God, than she can be supposed the creator of all things. But, if it should be said that the sticklers for this designation explained their meaning in such a manner, as to shew its consistency with the rest of the doctrines of our holy faith, I answer, in the *first* place, that no article of faith (for such this, that the Virgin Mary is the mother of God, was declared) should be proposed in terms which require a tedious explication. 2^{dly}, That it must have been evident to the authors of this title, that the generality would never incline to push their way through a labyrinth of metaphysical distinctions in quest of truth, but would naturally embrace the grossest and most obvious meaning of the appellation.

though by far the greatest part of them embraced the Christian religion, yet it was natural for them to countenance and encourage the practice of idolatry.

2dly, That the invocation of saints, the veneration of reliques, and the adoration of crosses and images, had already become so frequent, that Augustin, who died A. D. 430, grievously complains, that, even in his time, the practice had become so common, and was defended by persons of such influence and reputation for sanctity, that he durst not express himself so freely against it as otherwise he would have inclined.

When these things are reflected upon, it certainly cannot be an occasion of surprise to find people of these principles and dispositions worshipping the Virgin Mary after such a decree was once passed: Nay, have we not reason to conclude that Celestine and his legates (by whose authority chiefly the decree was made) did expect it? and accordingly, from adoration, they proceeded to prayers, so that, in the sixth century, public Litanies were said to the Virgin Mary.

And as this decree of the council of Ephesus owed its existence and support to Celestine and Leo, so with a no less paternal care did their successors, Simplicius, Felix, and Gelasius, cherish and defend it. They, not only to depreis the see of Constantinople, and to bring the Eastern bishops under their absolute jurisdiction, but also, to protect this idol of a decree from all secret attempts against it, did accuse, before the emperor Zeno, not only Mongus bishop of Alexandria, as a favourer of the Eutychian heresy, and consequently a supposed enemy to the decree, (though he had publicly subscribed the articles of the synod of Nice,) but also Accacius bishop of Constantinople, and Fullo bishop of Antioch, as supporters of the said Mongus. And when,

when, by their accusations, they could not prevail with the emperor to deprive them of their benefices, Geladius thundered out his anathemas against these Eastern bishops. Symachus, his successor, proceeded a step higher, in excommunicating the emperor Anastasius for favouring them. But of this more particularly afterwards.

Thus the pontifical beast was the author of that idolatrous form, which the secular under its ten kings did assume, and whereby the power of the dragon did revive. For as, by pretended signs and miracles, he persuaded the community, represented by the secular beast, to agree with him in framing an image or likeness to the beast, which under the sixth head had been slain; so, this being at length formed according to his pleasure, the wound, which had been received under the Cæsarian government, was healed. This is particularly expressed in the following words: "Saying unto the inhabitants of the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had a wound by the sword;" that is, that idolatry should be fully restored, according to its antient model, and bear the precise form which it had before it was abolished: *et cetera*, "and so at length the beast revived." For, as Mr Mede observes, the words are not to be conceived as a part of the false prophet's exhortation; but as the effect thereof, or the event that followed upon the signs and miracles whereby it was confirmed; and therefore they are added by the apostle, as expressive of what he beheld in the vision, with respect to the consequence of this warm and powerful address. And that not so much as a feature might be wanting in this new draught; because the emperors, who worshipped the dragon, caused divine honours to be paid them, the pope, at length, blasphemously usurped the incommunicable title of Lord God, as it was predicted concerning him,

him, 2 Theſſalonians 2d chap. 4th verſe: "So that
 "he as God, ſitteth in the temple of God, ſhewing
 "himſelf that he is God."

In the 15th verſe, we are told, that *he*, viz. the
 beaſt with two horns, "had power to give life to
 "the image of the beaſt, that the image of the beaſt
 "ſhould both ſpeak, and cauſe that as many as
 "ſhould not worſhip the image of the beaſt ſhould
 "be killed."

Thus the picture was exactly to reſemble the ori-
 ginal; and therefore, as the heathen emperors, who
 were the *pontifices maximi* of the Roman ſtate, not
 only cauſed edicts, the moſt bloody and ſevere, to
 be publiſhed againſt the profeſſors of chriſtianity,
 but alſo cauſed them to be put into execution; in
 like manner, this laſt high-prieſt of Rome, with his
 clergy, was to animate the princes under his jurif-
 diction, to perſecute the faithful ſervants of Jeſus
 Chriſt with unrelenting cruelty.

And hath not the event fully verified the predic-
 tion? For as none of the princes, who have ſubject-
 ed themſelves to the pope of Rome, as to their ſpi-
 ritual head, ever pretended to puniſh even their
 own ſubjects, for their non-compliance with idola-
 try, by any authority of their own, but by a power
 derived from him; ſo neither he nor his clergy do
 put ſuch perſons to death; but, being condemned by
 them as guilty of hereſy, they are delivered over
 to what they call the ſecular powers, whom they
 employ as the publiſhers and executioners of their
 ſentence *.

It is predicted in the 17th and 18th verſes, that
 he ſhould "cauſe all, both ſmall and great, rich and
 "poor free and bond, (*that is perſons of every rank,*
"ſtation, and condition) to receive a mark in their
 "right hand, or in their fore-heads; and that no
 "man

"man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." And then the chapter concludes with these words: "Here is wisdom, let him that hath understanding, count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man; and the number is six hundred three score and six."

Hereby is clearly foretold the terrible strain of papal excommunications, against those who would not receive the mark † of the beast, nor subject themselves to that idolatrous form of government, whereof the popes were to be the authors, and which seems to be pointed out by the name *Lateinos*, contained in the mystical number 666 ‡, namely, that
by

† The false prophet, or two horned beast, was to cause a particular mark to be used, by all the subjects of his government, that so they might be distinguished from others; and thus the mark or sign of the cross is by the pope's appointment used by papists of all denominations. Remarkable to this purpose is the account given by that ingenious author the Baron of Merchilton, (when commenting upon this passage) in his treatise upon the apocalypse. His words are as follow: "These crosses were so universally used, (that besides their daily crossings, with their right-hands on their foreheads, which they call saving) all manner of persons behoved to bear even visible marks thereof, at appointed times, on their foreheads, or in their hands, such as to be crossed with ashes upon their foreheads on Ash Wednesday, and to bear palm crosses in their right-hand on Palm Sunday, otherwise they were thought to be heretics, and cursed from the communion of christians: And these excommunicates (as saith the bull of pope Martin V) shall not be permitted to keep houses or lodgings, or to make any bargain, or to occupy any trade or merchandize, or to have any society with christians."

‡ If, according to the custom of the Hebrews and Greeks (who use letters for figures), we add together the sums of the letters in the word ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, they will exactly make the number 666; and that this number doth precisely point out the name of that empire which is typified by the first beast, will appear probable, if we consider:

1st, That it is said to be the number of a man's name, and so is *Lateinos* (as the Baron of Merchilton observes) the name of a man, even the name of one of their kings, from whom that people were called *Latini*, and their country *Latium*, long before
- Romulus.

by these excommunications, such persons should not only be solemnly anathematized, but also deprived of all the benefits of human society.

Now this was literally fulfilled by that inhuman edict of the Lateran council held by pope Alexander III. against the Waldenses, and Albigenses, whereby

F

it

2dly, This author observes, that as the Grecians had a custom in their mysteries, and oracles, to observe the number of names, as is to be found in different places of the Sybilline verses, and elsewhere (as Goasparus Peucerus upon Carion testifies); therefore he concludes, that the apostle, observing the custom of those to whom he wrote, saith, the number of the beast, or rather, as it is termed in the 17th verse, the number of the beast's name is 666.

He farther adds that Irenæus (who was taught by Polycarp, the disciple of St John) about the end of his 5th book de Heresibus, approveth of this manner of interpretation, in these words; "Et testimonium prehibentibus his, qui facie ad faciem viderunt Johannem, et ratione docentibus, quoniam numerus nominis bestię, secundum Gręcorum computationem, per literas, quę in eo sunt, sexcentos habebit, et sexaginta sex." But though he was thus positive as to the manner of interpretation, and amongst other names mentions that of Lateinos; yet (as the learned author observes) because he had no authority for any particular name, he leaves off to speak determinately thereof.

Farther, as another proof of the propriety of this explication, Mr Mede observes, that after the division of the empire into ten kingly governments, and no sooner, the bishop of Rome, with the rest of the inhabitants of the western empire, were, by way of distinction, called by the name of Latines; and that this was done by these very persons to whom the Apocalypse was written, viz. the seven Asiatic churches. For (as he adds) the Greeks, and other orientals, with whom the name of empire still remained, would have themselves only to be called Romans, and us, with our pope, bishops, kings, and princes under him, by a kind of fatal instinct they called Latines.

Lastly, Molineus observes, that the church of Rome is justly called the Latin church; since nothing is written or spoken there but in the Latin tongue. All masses, prayers, hymns, litanies, decrees, and bulls are expressed in Latin. The very women pray in Latin. The people are not allowed to read the Bible in any other language. For which reason the council of Trent ordered, that the vulgate Latin translation should be deemed the only authentic one. And he remarks, that many of the popish doctors make no difficulty to prefer this version to the Hebrew and Greek text, written by the very prophets and apostles,

it is ordered, under an anathema, that no persons shall presume to give them any countenance, or to maintain any correspondence with them. And the synod of Tours in France, held by this Alexander, orders, under the same penalty, that no person presume to keep "any sort of commerce with them, either in buying or selling."

The Lateran council, under pope Innocent, decreed against all the temporal lords, who being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge their lands of these persons, whom they called heretics, that they should be first excommunicated by the metropolitans, and other provincial bishops, and, if they refused to satisfy, that their vassals should be declared by the pope of Rome absolved from their allegiance to them, and that their lands should be given to the Catholics.

May we not then conclude, that the two horned beast speaks here like the dragon? For that bloody dragon, Dioclesian, published an edict against christians of the same kind, that none should sell any thing to them, or afford them the smallest relief until they had first sacrificed to the heathen gods. Concerning which edict we have these mournful lines of Beda.

*Non illis emendi quidquam,
Aut vendendi copia ;
Nec ipsam haurire aquam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Detestandis idolis.*

S E C T. III.

Of the Era and Duration of the two preceding Beasts.

HAVING, in the former sections, given some account of these two kinds of government, the one secular, and the other ecclesiastical, typified by the ten horned, and two horned beasts, it must be evident to every attentive reader, that they are contemporary.

For, as the secular beast under its seventh head is said, in the 3d verse of the 14th chapter, to be an "image (or likeness) of the beast which had received a mortal wound;" or, as hath been explained, of that idolatrous government, which was abolished by Constantine the Great; so, in the 14th and 15th verses, the two horned beast, or the pope and his clergy are said to be the restorers of this image, and to give it a life and soul; in the 12th verse, to exercise a supreme authority over it; and, in the 19th chapter, 20th verse, it is foretold, that "the beast, and with him the false prophet, that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image, (and who, therefore, is the very same with the two horned beast) that both of them should be taken, and cast into a lake of fire burning with brimstone."

Besides, the little horn, who is said, Daniel 7th chapter, 8th verse, to come up among the ten, and of whom it is predicted, in the 25th verse, that he would "speak great words against the Most High, and wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws;" this little horn (by which also we are to understand the papal government)

vernment) was to maintain his spiritual tyranny, "until a time, and times, and the dividing, or half "a time;" and this is explained in the 12th chapter of the Revelation, to be 1260 days, the very same space which is determined in the 13th chapter, 5th verse, for the reign of the secular beast.

Since then the two beasts, the secular and ecclesiastical, are contemporary in their rise, duration, and end, and are, in all these respects, so inseparably connected with each other, it must necessarily follow, that, by fixing the æra of the one, we most certainly fix the æra of the other.

Now, the æra of the secular beast is clearly pointed out by the angel, in these remarkable words, Revelation, 17th chapter, 12th verse: "And the ten horns "which thou sawest, are ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as "kings one hour with the beast *."

Seeing then, that these ten kingly governments had not existed in the Roman empire, before the vision, nor could possibly be fully established, during the Cæsarian head; and since the angel positively affirms, that at the commencement of the reign of the beast, and no sooner, they would be perfectly confirmed; the consequence is unavoidable, that, if we can find out the precise time, when these ten kingly governments were fully established, we may from thence, with great certainty, date the æra of the beast.

In order that this may be clearly ascertained, we are

* The words, *one hour*, cannot imply for a short space, unless they had been joined by a verb that signifies duration; that is, unless it had been expressed that they were to exercise their power *one hour* with the beast; in that case only, one hour might denote a short space of time; and, therefore, I know no other fair construction the words are capable of, than that at the time of their full establishment the reign of the beast should commence. Mr Whiston's essay on the Revelation, p. 222,

are told, in the beginning of the 13th chapter, that the first sight which the apostle had of the beast, in its last form, was when it arose out of the sea; which seems to import,

1st, That this last form of government would, in a great measure owe its origin and existence to the calamities which the Roman empire was to suffer, during the fall of the Cæsarian head. For the apostle saw the beast "rising out of the sea," or Roman empire*, which, like the troubled sea, had been long tossed with the storms of war.

2dly,

* Though in Daniel's prophecy, by the *great sea*, we are to understand the world, or at least those parts of it which were then known; yet, if we carefully attend to the connection of this chapter with the foregoing, we will see abundant reason to conclude, that the word *sea*, when used figuratively in the Apocalypse, doth signify the Roman empire, which is fitly typified by the sea, on account of its vast extent, and the close connection of its parts; but especially because it has been almost in a perpetual state of perturbation and disorder. But to proceed to the connection: In the 8th and 9th verses of the preceeding chapter, we are told that the "great dragon, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, with his angels, were cast out of heaven into the earth;" that is, as was explained in a former note, precipitated from the imperial throne, when Constantine the Great was raised to the sovereign dignity, whereby Satan's idolatrous government was confined to the lower ranks and orders of men in the empire. In the 13th verse, we are told, that when the "dragon saw he was cast down into the earth, that he persecuted the woman." This was fully accomplished in that terrible persecution raised and carried on by Licinius. This apostate from christianity had formerly made a great profession of it, was brother-in-law to Constantine, and on these accounts was admitted by him into the second place of dignity, the title of Cæsar being conferred upon him, and a great part of the empire committed to his government; yet, seduced by Satan, and prompted by ambition, he at length threw off the christian profession, declared himself an idolater, and persecuted his christian subjects with the utmost severity: And having by these means raised a formidable army of Pagan votaries, he threatened by one blow, the utter extirpation of the christian name. But the emperor Constantine, with his eldest son Crispus, (who was also dignified with the purple), by the good hand

24th, That this government was to begin, when the people, who were to be the subjects of it, should emerge

hand of God upon them, defeated these impious designs, overthrew the tyrant, and preserved the church. And as the Roman empire was afterwards divided into two parts, and continued under the government of two distinct heads, untill the fall of the western empire (the short reigns of Julian and Jovian excepted), so, the princes of both empires, being christians themselves, supported, and defended the church of God against all the future attempts of Pagan idolaters. This is beautifully represented in the 14th verse: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness." In the 15th verse, we are told, that the serpent being thus disappointed in all his designs of restoring heathen idolatry, "cast out of his mouth, water as a flood, after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood." This refers to the poisonous and infectious doctrines of Arius and Macedonius. Satan, taking the advantage of their pride, and affectation of singularity, tempted the one to deny the divinity of the Son, and the other the divinity of the Holy Ghost, judging rightly, that if their doctrines prevailed, christianity of consequence would soon be extinguished. But, it is added in the 16th verse, that the earth, or inferior orders of men, were so far from assisting him as formerly, that having now embraced christianity, they generally opposed these pernicious errors. And thus in ecclesiastical history we find, that the Arian heresy was strongly supported and defended by several emperors and bishops, but was as strenuously opposed by the far greater part of the people, until at length, after various struggles, both the prince and the people, both the higher and lower ranks of men, unanimously joined in its condemnation. This happened in the reign of Theodosius I. The dragon being thus disappointed in all his attacks upon the church, and having no more influence upon any order of men in the empire, full of wrath, as we are told in the 17th verse, ἀπῆλθεν, departed from it, to make war μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν σπέρματος αὐτῆς, with the relinquished of her seed, or, with her seed which he had left behind him in the empire, "who kept the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ," by honouring the Son, even as they honour the Father. And he, viz. the "dragon, stood upon the sand of the sea," (for thus Beza and Mede translate, and the original, as well as the connection, doth fully justify them), that is, he, swelling with revenge, took his station upon the confines of the Roman state, that by his malice and activity he might animate the Goths, Huns, and Vandals (those heathen nations, who were still under his sway) to harass, and ruin the empire, now converted to christianity;

emerge out of these public calamities, and enter upon a state of external peace. For the apostle cannot be said to have a perfect view of the beast, until it had "fully ascended out of the sea, or troubled state.

As therefore, at the commencement of this new spiritual government, it would appear that the subjects

anity; and also, that as soon as a new kind of government emerged out of that troubled state, he might model it according to his pleasure, by re establishing in the empire his kingdom of darkness and idolatry. And then, in the following verses of the 13th chapter, it is foretold, that by these wars and calamities, he would gain the end which he had in view.

Thus it has been endeavoured to fix the sense of the word *sea*, which so often occurs in the Apocalypse, that, without the knowledge of its meaning, we shall never be capable to understand this prophecy. And for a full confirmation of what has been said, the reader is desired to look to the 17th chapter, 15th verse, where the angel declares, that "the many waters upon which the whole sitteth, are people, and multitudes, and tongues, and nations." So that as the waters cover the channel of the sea, in like manner, the various nations subject to this spiritual whore, were to fill the whole compass of the Roman empire.

And though this turbulent element the sea, is sometimes calm and serene, yet, as it is foretold in the prophecy of Daniel, chapter 7th, verse 2d, that "prior to the rising of the four beasts out of the great sea, the four winds strove upon it;" (by which we are to understand the calamities and desolations of war, as appears from Jeremiah, 49th chapter, 36th verse; 51st chapter, 1st verse; 18th chapter, 17th verse;) to also in the 7th chapter of Revelation, it is predicted, that "prior to the sounding of the trumpets (mentioned in the 8th chapter) that four angels stood upon the four corners of the earth, and held the four winds, that they should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, until the servants of God were sealed." When this was done, we are told in the 8th chapter, 6th verse, that "the seven angels prepared themselves to sound;" and consequently the winds were let loose.

Now Mr Mede has shewn, with an astonishing perspicuity, that the soundings of the first three trumpets, relate to the wars and devastations, by which the western empire was overthrown; and if we shall consult the history of those wars, we will find, that, antecedently to the establishment of the ten kings, the sea, or Roman empire, had been in a state of the greatest perturbation.

jects of it were universally to enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquillity; it follows, that their temporal lords, viz. the ten kings, must also, at this precise period, be at peace one with another. And, since this universal peace seems to be given as a mark of the beginning of the beasts reign, it likewise serves as an infallible evidence of the full establishment of the ten kingly governments. For what more certain evidence can we have of the full establishment of any state or kingdom, than that all claims upon it, and all pretensions to it, are formally ceded and given up, and that, for a considerable time, it enjoys peace and quiet, without any manner of disturbance?

Now, it is plain from history, that the entire subversion of the Cæsarian government happened A. D. 476, when Augustulus, the last emperor of the west, was dethroned and banished by Odoacer king of the Heruli; and also, that Odoacer did not long enjoy his new conquests, since his dominions were invaded by Theodoric King of the Ostro-Goths, A. D. 488, and he lost both his life and his kingdom, A. D. 493.

But though the king of the Heruli was thus overthrown by Theodoric; yet we are not from thence to imagine, that the conqueror was all at once established in the government of so great and numerous a people, who, for the most part, were absolute strangers to him. Notwithstanding all his abilities, and all his address, this must have been a work of time, and we cannot suppose it to have happened sooner than the beginning of the sixth century, which commenced at the distance of only seven years from the death of Odoacer.

And, if we shall attend to the accounts given us in the Universal History*, we shall find that the western

western empire, at that very time, was divided precisely into ten kingly governments. The greatest and best part of Britain had been a Roman province, from the days of Agricola, till a little after the taking of Rome by Alaric, that is, for more than three hundred years. This province was now divided between the Britons and Saxons; the Franks were possessed of the Netherlands and a great part of France and Germany; the Suevi, of that part of Spain called Galicia; the Visigoths, of the remainder of Spain and Portugal; the Vandals, of Africa; the Ostrogoths, of Italy, Sicily, Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, and also a great part of Suevia and Gaul; the Hunns, of part of Pannonia, and the Gepidæ, of Dacia and Lesser Scythia, on the north of the Euxine sea; and the Burgundians, of the south of France.

Thus it appears from the Universal History, that, at the beginning of the sixth century, the ancient Roman empire was divided into neither more nor fewer than ten kingly governments*, which were distinguished from each other, by the names of the different nations to which they did belong. For,

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* It must indeed be owned, that, if we proceed to a more minute division of some of those nations, viz. of the Franks, Hunns, and Saxons, a greater number of kings may be affirmed. But, if we consider that the subdivisions retained one general name, had the same language, laws, and form of government, interested themselves in behalf of each other, so as to make the cause of one the cause of all; on these accounts, each of the above nations (notwithstanding their subdivisions) may be justly reckoned one people, and under one government. And, even though it should be found, that, besides the ten above-mentioned kingdoms, there were also, at this time, within the limits of the Roman empire, some other small nations and states; yet this will, by no means, be a sufficient confutation of what has been already asserted. For, since we cannot find in history any account of their origin, laws, or government, they must be considered either as mere wanderers, without any fixed residence, or absolutely dependent upon others,

after the battle of Tolbiac, (which was fought A. D. 496) the Alemans ceased to be a nation; and, as yet, neither the Lombards nor Bulgarians had made any figure in history.

As thus the ten kings succeeded to the Cæsars, so Mr Mede was of opinion, (notwithstanding the fall and rise of several kingdoms in the ancient Roman empire, during that long period), that the ten kingly governments might be traced out in every age, from their first establishment, down to his time. But, though it might be shewn, that the Lombards filled up the place of the Burgundians, and the Exarchate of Ravenna, that of the Ostrogoths; and perhaps the case may be similar with respect to all the rest; yet it must be allowed a sufficient accomplishment of the prophecy, that these governments succeeded to the Cæsarian, and that the western empire has, almost ever since, continued to be divided into nearly the same number.

We proceed next to the second mark, whereby the æra of the secular beast is pointed out; namely, when it emerged from a state of war, and entered upon a state of peace.

It has been already observed, that the subjects of this last Roman government, must also have been the subjects of the ten kings; from whence it necessarily follows, that when they enjoyed peace, the kings must have likewise enjoyed it. Farther, it has been remarked, that this universal peace, in its own nature, without any regard to, a prediction concerning it, is a most certain evidence, that the ten kings were then fully confirmed in their several governments; or, in the words of the angel, that "they had received power as kings."

Now, without having recourse to others, it is plain from the writers of the Universal History, (who cannot be supposed to have any design, but candidly to narrate such facts as they find support-
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ed by proper authorities); that about the beginning of the sixth century, all the ten kings were at peace. And because the fixing of the beaſts æra with exactneſs, ſeems entirely to depend on this point; therefore the very words of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* ſhall be laid before the reader, and alſo, below, the authors from whom the accounts are taken.

In the hiſtory of Britain*, we have theſe words: "Gildas, a writer of unqueſtionable authority, who lived in thoſe times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on Badon Hill, ſuppoſed to be Banſdown, near Bath, in which the Saxons were utterly routed by the Britons." And a little after, "In this battle, the Saxons received ſuch an overthrow, that for many years they forbore moleſting the Britons. It was fought, according to the beſt Britiſh manuſcripts, in the year 520, though ſome place it in 493, and others even before the year 491. Be that as it will, the Britons, it ſeems, enjoyed the peace and tranquillity, which ſo ſignal a victory produced, until Gildas wrote his account of the deſtruction of Britain, that is, forty four years after the battle was fought. This ſeems to be the moſt natural ſenſe of the obſcure words of Gildas, though Bede underſtood him, as if he had meant, that the battle was fought forty four years after the firſt coming of the Saxons, whence, in his chronicle, he places it in the reign of the emperor Zeno, who died in 491." Thus far the writers of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*.

But, however Bede might miſtake, in his explication of an obſcure paſſage in Gildas; yet ſince, in his chronicle, he hath placed this battle, which was followed by ſo long a peace, amongſt the events of the year 491, and that it is owned, ſome ancient manuſcripts have placed it within a year or two of that

that date; and, if to this we add Bede's character for learning, sanctity, and integrity, and that he flourished within two hundred years of this memorable event, it is obvious, that his authority, thus supported, must necessarily outweigh that of any manuscripts, which at this distance of time may possibly be produced.

It being then evident from Bede's chronicle, and some ancient manuscripts, that the battle of Badonhill was fought between the Britons, and Saxons, some time between the year 490 and 493; and from Gildas, who lived in those times, that the battle was followed by so long a tract of peace, that " * all that generation died in the full possession of it; and that it was not broken, until the next generation of Britons, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease, abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and debauchery, to such a degree, that they became odious to all the neighbouring nations;" it must therefore follow, that we have the highest reason to conclude, that, for several years before the beginning of the sixth century, and a great many after, there was an uninterrupted peace between the Britons and Saxons.

Proceeding then to the history of the Hunns relative to this period, we find† that Dangizick king of the Hunns, and a son of the famous Attila, in the war which he maintained against Leo emperor of the East, was slain by Arnagastus, one of the emperor's generals; and that his head was sent to Constantinople in 468, or 469‡; and then follow these remarkable words of the historians: " The Hunns, disheartened by the losses they sustained in this war, and the death of their leaders, continued, it

* Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 195.

† Idem, p. 246.

‡ Prile. p. 44. Chron. Alex. p. 774. Marc. Chron.

it seems, quiet for the space of near sixty years, without either molesting the Romans, or their neighbours, for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526*.”

As to the Vandals, we are told †, “ that at length, in the year 476, Genseric their king concluded a peace with Odoacer king of Italy, to whom he yielded the island of Sicily, upon condition he should hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the securing of which, he kept the strong castle of Lilybæum ‡. The year before he had concluded a peace with the emperor Zeno, the successor of Leo, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of Africa, yielded them for ever to Genseric and his descendants §.” And a little after we have these words: “ Genseric died soon after; but the peace was religiously observed by his successors till the reign of Justinian;” that is, till after the year 526.

With respect to the Sueves, we have this account ||. “ The following year, 468, they (viz. the Sueves) made themselves masters of Lisbon, which was betrayed to them by one Lusides, who was a native of the place, and commanded in the town. As Lisbon at that time was held by the Goths, the troops of that nation entering Lusitania, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the Sueves, as did the Sueves on those belonging to the Goths. However, Euric (king of the Visigoths) being wholly bent on driving the Romans quite out of Spain, with a design afterwards to fall upon the Sueves, concluded a peace for the present with Remismund (their king), and then turning his arms against the Romans, made himself master of all the places

* Theoph. p. 249. Auctor Miscell. l. 16. p. 461.

† Universal History, vol. 19. p. 354. 355.

‡ Vict. Vit. l. 1. p. 5. Procop. l. 2. c. 5. p. 341.

§ Male, p. 87. Procop. Bell. Vandal, l. 1. c. 7. p. 195.

|| Universal History, vol. 19. p. 369.

places that hitherto had been held by them, as we have related above in the history of the Visigoths. But he died before he could put in execution the design he had formed against the Sueves. Remismund, finding that he could no longer cope with the Visigoths, who were now masters of almost all Spain, retired into Galicia, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conquests, ended his days. His successors followed his example, contenting themselves with the kingdom of Galicia, and observing a strict neutrality in the disputes that arose between the Visigoths and the Romans. By this means, they maintained themselves in the quiet possession of Galicia, till the 585*."

In the history of the Gepidæ, these are the words of the historians†: "Upon the death of Attila, the Gepidæ shook off the yoke, under the conduct of king Ardaric, which occasioned a bloody war between them and the Huns, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, with their king Ellac. The Gepidæ not only recovered their ancient liberty, but the country whence they had been driven by Attila, that is, all ancient Dacia, lying north of the Danube. This memorable battle, which in a manner put an end to the empire of the Huns," (which had extended over so many nations in the days of Attila), "was fought on the banks of the Netad in Pannonia, about the year 460†. The Gepidæ thus settled in Dacia, entered into an alliance with the Romans, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. Dacia beyond the Danube was thenceforth called Gepidia, from its new inhabitants, as we read in Jornandes. Some years after, part of Illyricum was also granted them, with the

* Isidor. Chron. Idat. Jorn.
p. 462. 463.

† Univ. Hist. vol. 19,
Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664.

the city of Sirmium, whence their kings, by Theophanes, are stiled kings of Sirmium. There they continued quiet till the year 537*."

As to the Burgundians, we have an account in the history of the Franks† of the unsuccessful war, which Gundebald their king waged with Clovis king of the Franks, Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, and his own brother Godegiseles; and that having agreed to pay an annual tribute to Clovis, he afterwards overcame Godegiseles, and put him to death, by which means, we are told, that he became master of all the country now called Burgundy‡. These events are said to have fallen out, A. D. 500§. And in the history of the Burgundians|| we have these words: "Gundebald being restored to his dominions, he reigned without disturbing his neighbours, or being disturbed by them, till his death, which happened in the year 516**." And Procopius, in his history of the Gothic wars, says expressly, book 1. ch. 13. "that the Burgundians enjoyed peace from the death of Clovis king of the Franks, A. D. 511, until the death of Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, which happened, A. D. 526, in which year they were subdued by the Franks."

Concerning the Ostrogoths, we are told ††, "That Theodoric their king having settled his affairs at home," (viz. by the peace which he had concluded with the emperor Anastasius, †† and by the expulsion of the Bulgarians out of Pannonia) "resolved to attempt the execution of the project which he had formed from the beginning of his reign, which was to drive the Burgundians and Franks out of Gaul, and re-unite that country to Italy. His design

* Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 3. ch. 33. † Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 417.

‡ Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 418. Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 33. Procop.

§ Marius Avant. Chron. || Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 442.

** Vales. rerum Franc. l. 6. p. 328.

†† Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 548.

†† Cassiod. l. 1. ep. 1

sign was to begin with the Burgundians, and, after having reduced them, to fall upon the Franks. But, as the Burgundians were then a powerful nation, and masters of all the passes in the Alps, Theodoric entering into an alliance with Clovis king of the Franks, prevailed with him to attack the Burgundians, on one side, while he attempted to enter their country on the other." And the historians refer their readers to the above-mentioned account of the war carried on by Clovis, in concert with Theodoric, against Gundebald king of the Burgundians, which, as hath been already observed, was happily concluded in the year 500; and they add *, "Some years after," (that is, after the peace was concluded with the Burgundians), "a war breaking out between Clovis and Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, Theodoric put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the assistance of the latter; but that Clovis, in the mean time, killed Alaric in battle, and defeated his army." This, as shall immediately be shewn, happened A. D. 507. The war continued between the Ostrogoths and Franks, until not long before the death of Clovis; and Procopius, a contemporary writer, declares, (lib. 1. ch. 13.) "That, from that period; until the death of Theodoric, A. D. 526, the Ostrogoths enjoyed an uninterrupted peace."

We come now to the Franks and Visigoths, the last of the ten kings. — Of the Visigoths we are told †, "That Euric, their king, made himself master of the best part of Gaul, that is, of the whole tract between the Rhone and the Loire, and of all Spain, except a small corner of Galicia, and part of Lusitania held by the Suevians, and that he died at Arles, A. D. 484." And as he was succeeded by his son Alaric, so we do not find the smallest difference between this prince and his neighbours, till the con-

* Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 549.

† *Ibid.* p. 311.

conclusion of the peace betwixt Clovis and the Burgundians; when we are informed in the history of the Franks*, "That Clovis had scarce concluded it, when, some differences arising between him and Alaric king of the Visigoths, both princes began to prepare for war; which Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, no sooner understood, than he interposed his good office, and offered his mediation." After which, we have an account of several letters upon this subject, sent by Theodoric† to Clovis, Alaric, and other princes; and then follow these words‡: "The king of the Franks, not thinking it adviseable to break with the Visigoths at this juncture, forbore all hostilities till five years after, that is, till the year 507; and, in the mean time, probably consented to that interview with Alaric, which Gregory of Tours speaks of;" for, according to that historian, "Alaric, alarmed at the conquests Clovis was daily making, dispatched ambassadors to him, inviting him to an interview. With this invitation Clovis readily complied; so that the two princes met in an island formed by the Loire, over against Amboise, a place in the territory of Tours. There they conferred, and having dined together, they parted, promising to live in friendship and amity with each other." Gregory could not be mistaken as to this interview, and the peace concluded upon it, since he was born about twenty years thereafter, and was bishop of Tours, which is only ten miles distant from Amboise. He does not mention the year of this event. Valesius fixes it to the year 504. But, from the above, the writers of the Universal History (I think more justly) seem to fix this event to the year 503.

In the next page, we have a narration of the battle

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* bid. p. 420.

† Cassiod.

‡ Univ. Hist. vol. 19. p. 433.

tle of Vougle, which happened in the above year, 507. in which, we are told *, the Visigoths received a total overthrow, and wherein Clovis is said to have killed Alaric, the king of the Visigoths, with his own hand. Immediately after this alarming event, we are told, that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, interposed in behalf of his grandson Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, who was under age, and engaged in a bloody war with the Franks, which was at length concluded by a general peace betwixt the three nations, A. D. 509; or, as some say, 510. And it appears from Procopius, Gregory of Tours, Valesius, and all the historians who have wrote concerning their affairs during that period, that the peace continued till the year 526. But this peace could not be said to be established until the death of Clovis, which happened in the end of the year 511, as he was, by all accounts, one of the most turbulent, rapacious, deceitful, and ambitious princes that ever wore a crown. By his death, and the division of his kingdom amongst his four sons, A. D. 512, the general peace, which continued so long thereafter, must have been fully confirmed. And we cannot, I imagine, with propriety, fix the establishment of the ten kingly governments to another period, than this so clearly marked out by this general peace; because, at the conclusion of it, A. D. 526, one of the ten kingly governments, namely, that of the Burgundians, was destroyed by the Franks; and, soon thereafter, another of them, that of the Vandals, was overthrown by the emperor Justinian, who also abolished the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

Thus it has been shewn from considerable authorities, that there was an universal peace fully established amongst the ten kings, through the whole extent

* Idem, l. 2. c. 27.

extent of the ancient Roman empire, in the year 512. And is there indeed! nothing uncommon or extraordinary in all this? in so many barbarous nations, (some of them too at such a distance from the rest), uniting together in the most friendly and sociable dispositions; and in the majorities remaining in a state of peace so long; all of them for fourteen years, and some for forty, yea sixty, eighty, an hundred years, as appears from the above! Or, in the figurative stile of the prophecy, "in the vast and turbulent Roman sea, generally continuing, for such a length of years, perfectly calm and serene."

This is certainly a phaenomenon rarely to be observed in history. And may we not consider it, as a special instance of providence, that this grand event, respecting so many nations, should, at this distance of time, be so strongly confirmed, by such a cloud of historians, without so much as any of them taking notice of it; but only narrating the events, as they had a particular respect to the affairs of this or that nation, whose history they wrote?

As therefore this universal peace is the second mark of the beast's reign, so it is imagined, from the above facts, that we might immediately proceed to fix it to the year 512, or soon thereafter.

But, that this point may be seen in a yet clearer light, we shall, in the next place, endeavour to shew,

1st, That, at this time, the idolatrous form was assumed by the Latin church, or the churches in the Western empire.

2^{dly}, That, at this period also, the pope of Rome was fully established in that supreme power, which he and his successors have ever since exercised over these churches.

As to the first of these, Sir Isaac Newton, in the 14th chapter of his observations upon Daniel, having

ing given a clear and full account of the gross superstitions and idolatries practiced before the end of the fourth century, in all the churches of the Greek empire, he adds, "These quickly spread into the western also."

Again, Dr Middleton, in his letters from Rome, having demonstrated, that there is an exact conformity between popery and paganism; in the postscript to that letter, he unanswerably proves, "that the papists could not be originals, or inventors of these idolatrous ceremonies which they perform, but the mere borrowers of them from their pagan ancestors."

To this purpose he observes, that tho', in the reign of Constantine the Great, christianity became the established religion of the empire; yet it was forced to sustain a perpetual struggle, for a long time, against the obstinate efforts of paganism; and as, during the fourth century, christians and pagans lived promiscuously in every city in the empire, enjoyed, for the greatest part, not only the free exercise of their religion, but an equal share in the honours and magistracies of the state; that, therefore, there were many strong prejudices in favour of paganism, actually subsisting among all ranks of men, which an ambitious and temporizing clergy would naturally apply to the advantage of their ease, their profit, or their power.

He then proceeds to mention some of these compliances which were then made, with the popular prejudices of the heathen idolaters; such as the introduction of images and paintings into churches, the use of sweet odours, incense, and wax candles, in their worship, the changing of pagan festivals into christian holy-days, in honour of the martyrs, which were formerly solemnized in honour of deceased heroes and pretended deities. And as Vesta had her perpetual virgins, and other idols their

priests,

priests also under vows of chastity; so monasteries and nunneries began to be multiplied in all parts of the christian world. Which imitations of heathen practices (tho' they had been condemned by the ancient canons of the church, and also by particular edicts of the state), were at length commended and applauded as wise and prudent concessions, by Paulinus bishop of Nola, Gregory of Nyssa, and Jerom, as the above author shews from their writings. And, since this ingenious writer hath traced the idolatry of the church of Rome from its source, I shall give the following two quotations in his own words:

“Vigilantius, says he, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, publicly charged the ruling clergy with idolatry and paganizing, on account of several heathenish customs introduced at that time into the church, particularly the vows of chastity imposed upon the clergy, the veneration of reliques, and the lighting up of candles unto them in broad day-light.” “We see, (says he) in effect, a pagan rite introduced into our churches, under the pretext of religion, when heaps of wax candles are lighted up in clear sun-shine, and people every where kissing and adoring, I know not what, contemptible dust, preserved in a little vessel, and wrapped up in precious linen. These men do great honour truly to the blessed martyrs, whom the Lamb, in the midst of the throne, illuminates with all the lustre of his majesty.” “Vigilantius appears to have had several bishops and presbyters upon his side, in this controversy, and particularly Rufinus; yet the church in general was so strongly infected, at this time, with pagan prejudices, that his remonstrances were treated with no better terms, than heretical, impious, and diabolical.”

And again; “Pictures or images were introduced into the christian church, about the end of the fourth,

fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, by the pagan converts, who seem to have vied with each other in the magnificence of their building, adorning, and painting the churches of the several martyrs. Their design was to do honour to the memory of these martyrs, and to edify the people by the example of their lives; but, above all, as Paulinus," (who was a convert from paganism) "one of the first introducers of them, declares, to draw the heathens the more easily to the faith of Christ, since, by flocking in crowds to gaze at the finery of these paintings, and by explaining to each other the stories there represented, they would gradually acquire a reverence for that religion which inspired so much virtue and piety into its professors."

But these compliances, as bishop Stillingfleet observes, were attended with very bad consequences, since christianity became at last, by that means, but refined paganism, as to its divine worship. And the learned Mr Turretin also, describing the state of christianity in this very age, says, "The empire was brought over to the faith, but the church also infected with the pomp of the empire: The pagans were converted to christianity; but the worship of Christ also depraved to the fashion of paganism."

Thus, by the end of the fourth century, the way was fully paved for idolatry; and, it is very remarkable, that, during the progressive ruin of the Roman empire (which then commenced) idolatry gradually encreased. The rise and exaltation of the one seemed to keep an exact pace with the fall of the other. For we find, shortly after the invasion of the Barbarians, that an addition of apocryphal books was made to the canon of the scriptures by the council of Africa; thereafter followed the public,

public use of images, the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, &c. *

It must be owned, that several protestant writers, from an immoderate zeal to beat the papists out of the fort of antiquity, have not considered this period with that attention which otherwise might have been expected. They were, indeed, men of great learning, judgement, and piety; but as men they were liable to mistake. A remarkable instance of which we have in Mr Spanheim, who †, mentioning the corruptions which prevailed in the fifth century, and amongst others the public use of images in churches, hath these words: "*Alicubi etiam, sed exeunte sæculo, irrepere coepit cultus imaginum, non tamen introducta publica lege, sed privata quorundam superstitione, ut ex Augustino vehementer damnante picturarum adoratores, ex Theodoro, Eugario, aliisq; &c. colligere licet.*"

But, if he had reflected that, according to his own account ‡, Augustin died A. D. 430, he would have seen much more reason for affirming, that the worship or adoration of images was begun *ineunte*, than *exeunte sæculo*. And it must be evident to every attentive reader, that, in the account which he gives of the fifth century, he shews an excess of keenness, to overthrow the popish argument for their forms of worship, taken from the early practice of idolatry, and the ancient date of papal authority. He indeed justly laughs at the fabulous relation of miracles, given by Euagrius, Gregory of Tours, and others; but, as these historians lived near the times concerning which they wrote, this is an evident demonstration, that idolatry was become very general, since the pretended miracles,

by

* Spanheim. Theodoret.

† Spanheim. Epit. p. 215.

‡ Idem, p. 191.

by which it was established, were so universally believed.

But, without having recourse to popish authorities, even Spanheim, in his account of the fifth and sixth centuries, gives such an enumeration of facts respecting the rise and progress of idolatry, as is abundantly sufficient to establish the first of the above-mentioned propositions. He tells us, that, in the fifth century, images were publicly used in the churches; that the saints, and the Virgin Mary, dignified with this new title, The mother of God, was invoked; that the doctrine of purgatory began gradually to be believed, and that great virtues were ascribed to the reliques of saints.

It is evident then, that, in the fifth century, two of the kinds of blasphemy or idolatry, mentioned Revelation 13th chapter, 6th verse, were commonly practised; namely, "blasphemy against them that dwell in heaven," by their invoking them as their guardians and intercessors, and affirming that those happy beings (*viz.* departed saints), were still confined to dwell in their corrupted reliques; and "blasphemy against Christ the tabernacle of God," by their employing other mediators besides himself, and placing his image in their churches.

As to the third and highest kind of blasphemy or idolatry, the blaspheming the name of God, by the adoration of the creature, Augustin complains of its being frequent in Africa during his time; after the council of Ephesus, in the year 431, (when it was decreed, that the Virgin Mary should be called the mother of God), we are told that this highest kind of idolatry increased more and more, divine honours being not only paid to her, but also to the apostles, and other deceased saints. A notable instance of which, we have in Mr Bower's history of pope Hilarius.

This author, who must be supposed to be well acquainted

acquainted with the origin of idolatry in the church of Rome having mentioned the danger to which Hilarius had been exposed (through the fury of Dioscurus), when he acted as one of the pope's legates in the council of Ephesus; he expresses himself thus: "The danger he apprehended his life to be in upon this occasion remained fresh in his memory as long as he lived, and he was ever afterwards thankful for his happy deliverance. But, robbing the true author of his safety, of the glory that was due to him alone, he gave it to St John the Evangelist. For, being raised, twelve years after to the papal dignity, he built a magnificent chapel in honour of that saint, styling him, in the inscription, his Deliverer. The words are: "Liberatori suo, beato Joanni evangelistæ, Hilarius episcopus famulus Christi." This (as the author proceeds) would have been deemed rank idolatry, but half a century before. For, St Augustin, who flourished in this very age, in disputing with Maximinus the Arian bishop; used the following argument to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost, That he must be God, because temples were built and dedicated to him, which it would be sacrilege to build and dedicate to any creature. The same father, elsewhere, answers, with scorn and contempt, the charge brought by Faustus, the famous Manichee, against the catholics, as if they built and dedicated temples to their martyrs, calling it a false and groundless imputation. Had he lived a few years longer, his argument against Maximinus had lost all its force, and he had been obliged to own, what Faustus alleged against the catholics, to be but too true, and well grounded. For now saint-worship began to prevail; to saints, temples and chapels were dedicated; and men began anew "to serve the creature, more than the Creator."

I

That

That idolatry must have greatly prevailed by the beginning of the sixth century, will appear, if we consider that in the days of Justinian (who began his reign, A. D. 527), it was a common practice to swear by angels and saints, or the reliques of saints, as is evident from the 9th of his novel constitutions, in which he orders all governors of provinces to swear fidelity to him, not only by the Holy Trinity, but also by the Virgin Mary, the four Gospels, and the Arch-angels, Michael and Gabriel. And all the security which this emperor, by his deputies, gave to pope Vigilius, that he might prevail with him to quit his asylum in St Peter's church at Constantinople, whether he had fled for his life, was their touching the keys of St Peter, and a cross, and swearing by them, that the emperor would do him no harm.—“Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God,” (says Moses, Deuteronomy 6th chapter, 13th verse), “and shalt serve him only, and swear by his name.” “How shall I be favourable unto thee,” (says God by the prophet Jeremiah, 5th chapter, 7th verse,) “thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by those who are no Gods?” To swear “by those who are no gods,” by saints, by reliques, and the cross, is (as Mr Bower justly reasons) a forsaking God, and bestowing upon creatures that worship which is due to him alone. Nay, since an oath has been deemed, in all ages, the highest act of divine worship, it must follow, that the swearing by any creature, or creatures, is the highest act of sacrilege and idolatry, and, previously to this practice, men must have been much accustomed to pay them divine honours.

Even Spanheim is obliged to confess, that, in the sixth century, the worship of images, of the sign of the cross, of the mother of God, of John the baptist, of the apostles, saints, and martyrs, was become very general; for which he quotes Procopius, Gregory

gory of Tours, Euagrius, Bède, &c. He adds, that litanies were begun to be said to the Virgin Mary; and that those supplications which formerly had been offered by the Latin churches to God, in the time of the pestilence, and other public calamities, were now directed to her. And such, who will be at pains to consult the above authors, will find Spanheim's account to be abundantly confirmed by them*.

Thus, from the above authorities, it is plain, that the Latin church had now proceeded to blaspheme God, his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven; whereby they perfectly resembled their heathen predecessors, in their adoration of deceased heroes and heroines, in their employing them as mediators, and ascribing to them a perpetual residence in the images which they worshipped. All which idolatries and superstitions were encouraged, promoted, and supported by the bishops of Rome, as appears from what was observed in the second section†. And no sooner was idolatry attacked by the emperors of the East, than they appeared in its defence; and when by threatenings they could not prevail with them to desist, they poured out their anathemas against them, whilst they gave their approbation and countenance to the Empress Irene, when she established idolatry by a public law, in the second council of Nice.

If

* Greg. Turon. edit. Lutet. 1609, p. 726, et sequent. Procop. Hist. edit. Parisiis, p. 368, et alibi.

† Before the end of the sixth century, when the bishop of Marseilles had broken in pieces some images, because they had been impiously adored, pope Gregory interposed in behalf of the prevailing idolatry (as is evident from his letter still extant), by telling him, "I commend you, that through a pious zeal, you would not suffer that which is made with hands, to be adored; but I blame you for breaking the images in pieces. For it is one thing to adore a picture, and another to learn from the history of the picture, what is to be adored." L. 9. Ind. 2. Ep. 9.

If it should be objected, that the idolatry of the Latin church was not confirmed in the beginning of the sixth century by any particular law, nor had attained to the greatest height by the adoration of the bread in the sacrament; the answer is plain and conclusive, that a general practice has always been esteemed of equal force to a law; and, since the adoration of any creature, is the highest kind of idolatry, the common and received axiom must hold in this, and all similar cases, that greater and lesser do not alter the kind.

Nay, though it should be granted, that a satisfying proof could not be made of the general practice of idolatry, in its highest kind, at that period; yet it must be allowed as a sufficient accomplishment of the prophecy, that idolatry, in any of its kinds, was then general. For we are told in the 1st verse of the 13th chapter, that, at first, the apostle only observed in the vision, that the last spiritual government of Rome, as well as the six preceding heads, had upon it the name of Blasphemy in general. And, it is very remarkable, that in the order of the prophecy, the establishment of this last government is first predicted in the 5th verse; and then follows, in the 6th verse, that "the beast was to open its mouth," in all the different kinds of blasphemy or idolatry.

Having thus shewn, that the idolatrous form was assumed by the Latin churches, at the very time when the ten kings were fully established in their respective governments, by the general peace, or universal cessation from hostilities; and also, that immediately thereafter, they proceeded to the practice of idolatry in its highest kinds; we shall go on to prove,

2dly, That, at this period also, the supreme authority of the popes over the Western churches was fixed upon a solid basis.

For

For some centuries they had been considered as in a state of parity with the other christian bishops; and any instances of superior regard which had been shewn them, were manifestly owing, either to the dignity of the place of their residence, or to their interest at court, or to the opulence of their circumstances, whereby they were in a condition of being more generally useful. But, in the reign of Gratian, an imperial edict was obtained, whereby the churches in the western empire were subjected to their jurisdiction.

To this very date, as the origin of papal power, the apostle Paul, in his 2d epistle to the Thessalonians, 2d chapter, seems to allude. In the 3d verse of that chapter, he tells them that the day of judgment would not happen, till first there was a "falling away, and that man of sin should be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," &c. In the 6th verse, he desires them to consider what withheld his present appearance: Not that there were wanting a sufficient number of ambitious men, who would love to exercise a spiritual tyranny over the consciences of their brethren; for, says he, in the 7th verse, "the mystery of iniquity doth already work, in some measure, that way; but he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way, and then shall the wicked be revealed," &c.

Now, it is obvious, that the chief persons, who, in the apostle's days, restrained the ambitious designs of christian teachers, and who were afterwards to be taken out of the way, were no other than the Roman high-priests, who would not suffer their honour to be eclipsed, nor their authority to be lessened by any rival: And as these high-priests were the sovereign rulers of the state, so their power was then, and ever afterwards, employed in depressing such who presumed to share with them in the pontifical

tifical dignity. Not only the heathen emperors acted in this manner, but even Constantine and several of his successors. As they assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, (though they did not exercise it over the heathen pontifical college, which still subsisted at Rome), yet they fully exercised it over the christian churches in the empire, by superintending, ordering, and over-ruling all things therein, with respect to doctrine, worship, and discipline.

The emperor Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical dignity; but, that a high-priest might not be wanting, he and his colleague Valentinian, issued the following edict (quoted by Sir Isaac Newton), whereby Damasus bishop of Rome, and his successors, are invested with this office. The words of the edict are:

“ Volumus, ut quicumque iudicio Damasi, quod ille cum concilio quinque vel septem habuerit episcoporum, vel eorum qui catholici sunt iudicio vel concilio condemnatus fuerit; si iuste voluerit ecclesiam retentare, ut qui ad sacerdotale iudicium per contumeliam non ivisset: Ut ab illustribus viris præfectis prætorio Galliarum & Italiae, autoritate adhibita, ad episcopale iudicium remittatur, sive a consularibus vel vicariis, ut *ad urbem Romam sub prosecutione perveniat*. Aut si in longinquiore partibus alicujus ferocitas talis emerferit, omnis ejus causæ edictio ad metropolitæ in eadem provincia episcopi deduceretur examen. Vel si ipse metropolitanus est, *Romam necessario sine delatione contendat*.—Quod si metropolitani episcopi vel cujuscunque sacerdotis iniquitas est suspecta, aut gratia, ad Romanum episcopum, vel ad concilium quindecim finitimorum episcoporum accersitum liceat provocare, modo ne post examen habitum, quod definitum fuerit integretur.

Sir Isaac observes, that this edict being directed to the *præfecti prætorio Italiae & Galliarum*, was therefore

fore general; since the *præfectus prætorio Italia* governed *Italy, Illyricum Occidentale*, and Africa; and the *præfectus prætorio Galliæ* governed Gallia, Spain, and Britain.

Thus, when the Cæsarian pontificate (which hitherto had been the great impediment) was abolished, or taken away by the renunciation of Gratian, then, immediately, according to the apostle's prediction, was "that wicked one (whose coming "was after the working of Satan, with all power, "and signs, and lying wonders) revealed," or pointed out, by the above imperial edict.

Sir Isaac further remarks, that the granting this jurisdiction to the popes, gave several bishops occasion to write to them, for their resolutions upon doubtful cases, whereupon they answered by decretal epistles.

A few years after, the western empire was invaded by the barbarians; and, during its fall, these haughty prelates, supported by this edict, their growing riches and extensive influence, taking also the advantage of the weakness of the state, and the general bent of the age to idolatry, they at length accomplished the impious design, of not only lording it over their brethren, but also over the consciences of all. As the Cæsarian head began to fall, this new head of government grew up, and, after the one disappeared, the other soon succeeded in its place: And as, from the ruins of the Roman empire, idolatry raised its head; so upon these the Roman pontiffs settled the foundations of their monarchy: As the ruins encreased, its foundations were enlarged; and, soon after the total subversion of the empire, they were fully established.

Thus Mr Spanheim informs us, that, in the beginning of the fifth century, when the Roman empire first appeared to shake, pope Innocent, as supreme judge, began to contend for the right of appeals;

peals; that Zozimus his successor endeavoured by his legates to impose upon the African churches a forged canon, concerning this right, as if it had been one of the Nicene fathers; that afterwards Boniface and Celestine pushed the same affair, and appointed vicars through the different provinces of the empire, to judge finally in all causes, during their absence; * that Leo the First began to extol the throne of Peter, sometimes to call himself Universal Bishop, to treat Hilary bishop of Arles in a haughty manner, and to extort a law from the emperor Valentinian, by which all the churches in the western empire were subjected to his authority.

Sir Isaac Newton, who has given us, in his observations on Daniel, a succinct account of the progress of papal domination over all the provinces of the western empire from the reign of Gratian, to that of Valentinian, tells us, that Leo I. having, in a council at Rome, passed sentence upon Hilary, bishop of Arles, for what he had done by a provincial council in Gallia, took occasion from thence to procure an edict from the western emperor Valentinian III. for the absolute establishment of the authority of his see over all the churches in the western empire. He then presents his readers with a copy of the edict, which is as follows :

Impp. Theodosius & Valentinianus A. A. Etio viro illustri, comiti & magistro utriusque militiae, & patricia.

Certum est & nobis & imperio nostro unicum esse

* The institution of vicars (as Mr Bower observes) was, of all the devices that the most refined policy could invent or suggest, the best calculated for establishing the papal authority. The bishops of the first sees, who were most capable of effectually opposing the encroachments of Rome, being thereby engaged in attitude, as well as by interest, to support and defend them.

esse præsidium in supernæ divinitatis favore, ad quem promerendum præcipue Christiana fides & veneranda nobis religio suffragatur. Cum igitur sedis apostolicæ primatum sancti Petri meritum qui princeps est episcopalis coronæ, et Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacra etiam synodi firmavit auctoritas; *ne quid præter auctoritatem sedis istius illicitum præsumptio attemperare nitatur*: Tunc enim demum ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si rectorem suum agnoscat universitas. Hæc cum hactenus inviolabiliter fuerint custodita. Hilarius Arelatenfis, sicut venerabilis viri Leonis Romani Papæ fidei relatione comperimus, contumaci ausu illicita quædam præsumenda tentavit; & ideo Transalpinas ecclesias abominabilis tumultus invasit, quod recens maxime testatur exemplum. Hilarius enim, qui episcopus Arelatenfis vocatur, ecclesiæ Romanæ urbis, inconsulto pontifice, indebitas sibi ordinationes episcoporum sola temeritate usurpans invasit. Nam alios incompetenter removit; indecenter alios, invidiis & repugnantibus civibus, ordinavit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facile ab his qui non elegerint, recipiebantur, manum sibi contrahebat armatam, & claustra murorum, in hostilem morem, vel obsidione cingebat, vel aggressionem referabat, & ad sedem quietis, pacem prædicaturus, per bella ducebat. His talibus contra imperii majestatem, & contra reverentiam apostolicæ sedis, admissis, per ordinem religiosi viri urbis papæ cognitione discussis, certa in eum, ex his quos male ordinaverit, lata sententia est. *Erât quidem ipsa sententia per Gallias etiam sine imperiali sanctione valitura; quid enim pontificis auctoritate non liceret?* Sed nostram quoque præceptionem hæc ratio provocavit. Nec ulterius vel Hilario, quem adhuc episcopum nuncupare sola mansueta præsulis permittit humanitas, nec cuiquam alteri ecclesiasticis rebus arma miscere, aut præceptis Romani antistitis liceat obviare: Ausibus

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enim talibus fides & reverentia nostri violatur imperii. Nec hoc solum, quod est maximi criminis, submovemus: Verum, ne levis saltem inter ecclesias turba nascatur, vel in aliquo minui religionis disciplina videatur, *hoc perenni sanctione discernimus; nequid episcopis Gallicanis, quam aliarum provinciarum contra consuetudinem veterem liceat, sine viri venerabilis papæ urbis æternæ auctoritate, tentare. Sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit, quicquid sanxit, vel sanxerit apostolicæ sedis auctoritas*: Ita ut, quisquis episcoporum ad iudicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per moderatorem ejusdem provinciæ adesse cogatur; per omnia servatis, quæ divi parentes nostri Romani ecclesiæ detulerunt, Aete pater carissime Augusti. Unde illustri & præclara magnificentia tua præsentis edictalis legis auctoritate faciet quæ sunt superius statuta servari, decem librarum auri multa protinus exigenda ab unoquoque iudice qui passus fuerit præcepta nostra violari. Divinitas te servet per multos annos, parens carissime. Dat. VIII. Id. Jun. Romæ, Valentiniano A. VI. Consule A. C. 445*.

Sir Isaac observes, "that, by this edict, the emperor Valentinian enjoins an absolute obedience to the will of the bishop of Rome, through all the churches of his empire; and declares, that, for the bishops to attempt any thing without the pope's authority, is contrary to ancient custom; and that the bishops, summoned to appear before his judicature, must be carried thither by the governor of the province; and he ascribes these privileges of the see of Rome to the concessions of his dead ancestors, that is, to the edict of Gratian and Valentinian II. as above; by which reckoning, the dominion of the church of Rome was now of sixty-six years standing;

* See also Concil. t. 3. p. 1401, and Leo, ep. 10, where the above edict is recorded.

ing; and, if in all this time it had not been sufficiently established, this new edict was enough to settle it beyond all question, throughout the Western empire."

"Hence (as Sir Isaac proceeds), all the bishops of the province of Arles, in their letter to pope Leo, A. C. 450, petitioning for a restitution of the privileges of their metropolitan, say, "*Per beatum Petrum, apostolorum principem, sacrosancta ecclesia Romana tenebat supra omnes totius mundi ecclesias principatum.*" And Ceratius, Solonius, and Veranus, three bishops of Gallia, say, in their epistle to the same pope: "*Magna praeterea, & ineffabili quadam nos peculiares tui gratulatione succrescimus, quod illa specialis doctrinae vestrae pagina ita per omnium ecclesiarum conventicula celebratur; ut vere consona omnium sententia declaretur; merito illic principatum sedis apostolicae constitutum, unde adhuc apostolici spiritus oracula referentur.*" And Leo himself, in his epistle to the metropolitan bishops throughout Illyricum, "*Quia per omnes ecclesias cura nostra distenditur, exigente hoc a nobis Domino, qui apostolicae dignitatis beatissimo apostolo Petro primatum, fidei sui remuneratione, commisit, universalem ecclesiam in fundamenti ipsius soliditate constituens.*" Thus the state of papal authority is represented by Sir Isaac Newton, in the time of Leo I. about the year 450.

Mr Spanheim tells us, that Felix (who began his pontificate, A. D. 483) not satisfied with the submission paid to him, by the churches in the Western empire, proceeded to extend his authority over the churches in the Eastern, by imperiously citing Accacius bishop of Constantinople, to give answer at his bar, to the complaints of one John Talaja (who had been deprived of the bishopric of Alexandria, for simony, as Euagrius relates) and to pass sentence of excommunication upon the said Accacius and

and Fullo bishop of Antioch, because they maintained communion with Mongus, then bishop of Alexandria, supposed to be infected with the Eutychian heresy; and that Gelasius, his successor, went still farther in extolling the papal powers, proudly insisting upon these words of our Saviour, "Thou art Peter." But that which crowned all was the behaviour of pope Symmachus, and of that council which acquitted him of the crimes with which he had been charged. And, as during his pontificate, the ten kings were (according to the above account) fully established in their respective governments; so here we shall be a little more particular.

Mr Bower, in his history of the Popes, informs us, that one Laurentius, a Roman, and Archpresbyter, had been competitor with Symmachus for the papal dignity; that, in the year 500, Symmachus was accused of several heinous crimes, by the patrician Festus, and a senator named Probinus, both zealous supporters of Laurentius; that the cause was submitted to the decision of Theodoric king of Italy, who, chusing rather to have him tried by an assembly of bishops, than to try him himself, summoned all the bishops in his dominions to meet at Rome, in order to examine the charge brought against him; and that in their third session held in October 501, after a long and very warm debate, between the friends of Symmachus and those of Laurentius, a very remarkable decree was issued, and signed by the former, seventy-two in number; by which decree, they not only, says the historian, acquitted Symmachus from the crimes laid to his charge, without so much as hearing those who accused him, but commanded all, upon pain of excommunication, to acquiesce in their judgment, to submit to the authority of Symmachus, and to acknowledge him, now that he was absolved in the sight of men, whether guilty or innocent in the
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fight of God, for lawful bishop of the holy city of Rome. And, for the truth of this, he appeals to Council. t. 4. p. 1340.

“ It was on this occasion (says he), that the wild notions were first broached which now prevail, concerning the independency of the pope upon councils. For the friends of Symmachus, apprehending that he might be found guilty, if fairly tried, and therefore unwilling to try him, pretended in the council, that no assembly of bishops had a power to try the pope, and that he was accountable for his actions to God alone. These notions, though now received and maintained, in a manner, as articles of faith, by all true papists, appeared then, that is, in the beginning of the sixth century, so very absurd, that their having been advanced in the present council was alledged, by the bishops of the opposite party, as an argument to convince the world, that such a council could be of no authority, nor could it deserve any regard. Was not the present council, say they in their manifesto, assembled to judge the pope? Did not these very men, who will not allow any assembly of bishops to have the power of judging the pope, summon him to appear before them, in order to be judged? Should the pope be guilty of the most enormous excesses, is no man, no assembly of men, to reprove, censure, or controul him? Has, he among the other privileges derived to him from St Peter, that of committing all crimes with impunity?

“ Ennodius, afterwards bishop of Pavia, undertook to answer these troublesome queries: Who in his apology, where the queries are to be found, affirms, that God was willing, that the causes of other men should be determined by men; but, as for the bishop of the Roman see, he has, without question,

tion, reserved him to his own judgment ; and that, with respect to him, there can never be any room for reproof, censure, or controul ; for the papal dignity (says he) either finds or makes saints, all who are raised to it.

“ The beginning of the sixth century” (continues our author) “ is no early date ; many false and heretical doctrines, many idolatrous and unwarrantable practices, had begun to prevail in the church long before that time ; and the popish writers, sensible, that the papal independency upon councils might be justly deemed a novelty, had it never been heard of till then, pretend it to be defined by a grand council in the second, consisting of no fewer than three hundred bishops, brought down by them from the clouds for that purpose. However, that opinion was not first broached by Ennodius, as is generally supposed. It was first started by the friends of Symmachus, in this council, to serve a present purpose, to justify their absolving him without a trial. The friends of Laurentius protested against it ; and it was in answer to their protest, and to maintain what the council advanced, that Ennodius wrote his apology.” And he further tells us, ‘ that, in the year 503, the pope held another council at Rome, to confirm the acts of the council that had absolved him, and restored him to his dignity.

“ To the bishops of that assembly (says he), who were all Italians, was read the apology of Ennodius ; a piece filled perhaps with more fulsome flattery, with more false and absurd maxims, than any that has been published since that time. However, the bishops, lost to all sense of shame, not only extolled

• *Aliorum hominum causas Deus voluit per homines terminari, sed Romanæ sedis præcilem suo, sine quaestione, reservavit arbitrio.*

led it with the highest commendations, as it were in emulation of one another; but ordered it to be inserted amongst the acts of the council, and to be deemed of as much authority as the council itself, or any decree made by the council. The pope, not satisfied with this mark of honour, the greatest that yet had been bestowed on any work, commanded it, with the unanimous consent of the bishops, to be placed amongst the decrees of the apostolic see, and to be held as one of them." For the proof of the above, Mr Bower quotes Concil. t. 4. p. 1364 *.

Thus it clearly appears from the above, that, at the very time of the establishment of the ten kings, the doctrine of the pope's independency upon councils, and in one sense of his impeccability too, was fully established : And being thus raised to a power above all human judicature, we are told by Baronius, Spanheim, and Schotanus, that Symmachus had the audacity to excommunicate Anastasius emperor of the east, on account of his favouring the memory of Accacius late Bishop of Constantinople, who had been (as was observed) excommunicated by former popes, not for any heresy of his own, but for maintaining communion with the bishop of Alexandria suspected of Eutychianism.

In proof of this fact, Baronius quotes the pope's letter, in answer to one from the emperor, in which he had expressed his resentment against the pope for excommunicating him. The words, according to Baronius, run thus ; " Dicis quod, mecum, conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego, sed rationabiliter factum, a decessoribus meis,

* The above quotations from Mr Bower's history of the popes have been compared with the acts of council in Labbe's collection, tom. 4. edit. 4. Lutetiae, 1671, and are found to be genuine,

meis, sine dubio subsequor. "You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the senate; that I did, but I certainly follow what was with good reason done by my predecessors *."

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* Mr Bower, instead of *istū quidem ego*, reads, *istū quidem nego*; so that, according to him, the passage must be thus understood; "That indeed I deny, but follow what was done "by my predecessors." Hence he concludes, that, since the emperor had not been excommunicated by any of this pope's predecessors, neither was he by him.

It is obvious that all the difference between this and the former reading, lies in the addition of a single letter, which in some copies might easily happen, in the hurry of transcribing, especially as the letter *m* in *quidem*, might be mistaken for the letter *n*, and by reason of its closeness to the word *ego*, occasion its being prefixed to it. But, whether such a mistake was casual, or designed, it must be observed, that, besides the above authorities, in proof that the emperor was excommunicated, it cannot be supposed that he could be misinformed, as to the "passing of such a public sentence at Rome," in which he was so much interested. Neither can we imagine that he would have blamed the pope, in such a public manner, for it, if he had not received the most certain assurances of his being excommunicated. As to Symmachus his declaring, that he followed what had been done by his predecessors, it must be owned, that, though none of them had particularly excommunicated the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, yet they had virtually done it, in so far as they had not only excommunicated Accacius, but also all who had communicated with him, or should communicate with his memory; in which form of excommunication, the Emperor Anastasius was certainly included. By which they plainly shewed, if circumstances would have permitted, their full intention to have fixed upon the eastern emperors the highest mark of disgrace. But, in such an unsettled state of public affairs, wherein they lived, when Italy was a prey to every bold invader, they had the prudence to consider, that a step of that kind might have proved fatal to them in the issue. And, as Symmachus was perfectly acquainted with their purposes and condition, he might justly say, that he had followed what had been done by his predecessors, who had proceeded as far against the emperors of the east, as their circumstances would allow; and if they had enjoyed the protection

Mr Bower (who places this controversy between the emperor and the pope in the year 502) acknowledges, " that Symmachus treats the emperor, throughout the whole apology, or rather libel (as he justly terms it), with the utmost contempt. He has even the assurance (says he) to tell him, that the successor of St Peter is, at least, as great as an emperor. He proceeds farther. For, as the historian observes, he compares the episcopal with the imperial dignity, and concludes a bishop to be as much above an emperor, as the heavenly things which the bishop dispenses are above all the trash of the earth; and pretends that, by the higher powers, is meant the spiritual powers, and that " to them chiefly, every soul ought to be subject *." His successor Hormisdas made a point of it with the Emperor Justin, that the names of Accacius and Mongus, who were both dead, and also of his predecessors the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, should be erased out of the public tables, with an anathema against them, and also against all those who did not in all things agree with the apostolic church; which was accordingly done.†.

May we not then, from the above, justly conclude, that this was the " little horn which was to " speak great things," presumptuous things, against God, by invading his prerogative, whose peculiar right it is to judge the conscience, and upon whom

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testimon of such a powerful prince as Theodoric, would, without question, have acted in the same manner.—His saying afterwards, in the apology, that he did not excommunicate the emperor, but that the emperor excommunicated himself, cannot be considered as a denial of the fact, but a mere quibble, often used by pretended zealots, to justify their violent and uncharitable censures.

* See Symmachus his apology in Labbe's councils, from p. 1296. to p. 1300.

† Spanheim, epist. Hormisd. t. 1. Niceph. &c.

alone our eternal state depends; and arrogant things against men, not sparing even the imperial dignity itself? And as thus, when the ten kings were established in their governments, the papal authority had been exercised over the Western empire for more than an hundred years, was supported by two imperial edicts, and now, not only raised to almost its highest pitch, but also exerted itself, in some of the highest acts of spiritual tyranny; so it is plain that this dominion was then settled upon a strong and solid basis; upon the very same foundations which have upheld it to the present times; namely, the great revenues of the popes, the then reigning superstition and idolatry, the celibacy of the clergy, and the institution of the monkish orders.

Though the popes had not as yet acquired a temporal dominion, yet we are told by Ammianus Marcellinus, that, by the beginning of the fifth century, they almost equalled kings in their riches, pomp, and luxury; concerning which, Jerom also, at the same time, grievously complains. Besides, it appears from the letters of Pope Gregory (who lived in the end of the sixth century) that the church of Rome, at that time *, held ample estates called *the Patrimonies of Peter*, not only through all Italy, but also in Sicily, in France, Dalmatia, Africa, and in the most distant provinces of Europe; and he speaks of them, not as if they had been newly acquired, but in the stile of ancient possession. Farther, Mr Bower tells us in his history of Pope Symmachus, " That the Roman church was then in a most flourishing condition as to wealth; for, from Rome (says he) were yearly sent over very considerable sums into Africa, for the relief of

* Ammirat. opusc. concil. t. 4. p. 1266.

of the Catholics there, most cruelly persecuted by Trasimund the Arian, king of the Vandals ; nay, Symmachus (he adds) is said not only to have supplied with the necessaries of life, but to have maintained suitably to their rank, no fewer than two hundred and twenty bishops, whom the king had stripped of their effects, and sent into exile." Moreover, that these immense revenues might be effectually secured from dissipations, we find it decreed in the council held by Symmachus, A. D. 502, " That, from that time forward, it should not be lawful for any to sell or alienate any lands or immoveable possessions, how large, or how small soever, that belonged to the church. These alienations are forbidden in all cases, and without exception ; such contracts are declared null and void, and all are excommunicated who shall consent or agree to them." And as this decree was well calculated for the maintenance and security of their worldly greatness, so, generally, it has been most religiously observed by succeeding popes.

That superstition and idolatry prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century, has been already proved ; the celibacy of the clergy had been established in the fifth century by the authority of the popes * ; and about the beginning of the sixth, Benedict and the rest of his monastic order (the great apostles and emissaries of the popes) began to appear †.

The popes, by their riches, extended and supported their influence and authority ; by promoting and encouraging idolatry and superstition, they took fast hold of the hearts and consciences of men ; by enacting the celibacy of the clergy, they entirely detached them from all natural connections, that they might employ their whole zeal and activity,
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* Spanheim.

† Idem.

in upholding and maintaining that body, of which the pope is the head; and, by the institution of the monkish orders, they strengthened their interest through every country in Christendom; for all ranks of people were so suddenly bewitched with the magic of their superstition, that monasteries were soon erected, and the best lands allotted for their maintenance: And as the monks derived their institution from the papal see, so their whole vigour and attention are, and always have been employed, in promoting and advancing its power and authority.

If, after all, it should be objected, that Pope Gregory in the sixth century, renounced the title of universal bishop, calling it Antichristian and blasphemous; we ought to consider what was the occasion of this renunciation; namely, because this title was conferred upon the bishops of Constantinople by the Greek emperors, who, at that time, reigned over the greatest part of Italy by their substitutes the exarchs of Ravenna. In such a case, what was Gregory to do? To contend with the emperor was not safe, as he held many lands of him: To condemn the title for the present, was the only resource left. And is there any thing extraordinary in this, to hear people cry down titles (of which they are extremely ambitious) when others are preferred to them? But even, though the doing of this had been a matter of choice in Gregory, and not of necessity; which by no means appears, yet as many of his predecessors, in a continued series, had assumed this title, and as it was immediately after taken up by his successors; so, to use the common proverb, one swallow doth not make summer.

That no man had ever been more zealous, in promoting idolatry, and the influence of papal power, than Gregory, appears from his history; and

and that he was a mere worldly time-server, is evident, from his causing the base usurper Phocas to be proclaimed emperor, and his statues to be set up at Rome, immediately after the wretch had butchered his master the good emperor Mauritius, together with his children.

His abrogation of the decree concerning the celibacy of the clergy, had as little merit in it as his above renunciation ; since, prior to this, no less than six thousand heads of children, supposed to be begotten and murdered by the Roman clergy, had been extracted from a fish pond at Rome. This crying iniquity could not fail to occasion a present suspension of the law of celibacy, which was afterwards soon revived.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that Gregory and several of his successors called the Greek emperors their lords ; but it is plain that this was only a civil compliment, whereby they owned their secular but not their spiritual dependence ; and this ceased to be given, so soon as they were capable to maintain themselves, independently of their support and protection.

If it should be further alledged, that the popes had not as yet pretended to the character of infallibility, nor to the power of granting indulgences, &c. the answer is obvious ; that though their government was now fully established, yet they had not till about the twelfth century arrived at the summit of their power ; and, though till then they did not find it expedient to assume these high-sounding titles, yet generally they acted as if they had been possessed of them.

Having thus shewn, that after the extinction of the Cæsarian dignity, in the year 476; the western empire was divided into ten kingly governments ; and that these were confirmed or established

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ed by an universal peace, in the year 512 * ; that idolatry then prevailed universally in the Latin churches, and that the papal authority was not only raised above all human judicature, but exerted itself in some of the highest acts of spiritual tyranny, and that it was also settled upon the very same foundations which have hitherto supported it : On these accounts it is hoped, that, without vanity or presumption, we may now proceed to date the æra of the papacy from A. D. 512, or soon thereafter ; to which if we shall add forty-two months, (the time predicted of its duration), or, which is the same thing, the 1260 prophetic days, each day being a year, the end of that reign, according to this calculation, will happen in the year 1772 or within a few years after that date. We are not, however, to conclude that, against this swiftly approaching period, all the nations in Christendom, which at present are under the dominion of the papal monarchy, shall then, unanimously renounce popery and idolatry, and give a public and general assent to the principles of the reformation : But, from what has been remarked, we may, at least, have some reason to expect, that the popish interest, which has for more than twelve centuries past, been by far the highest in the Christian world, shall then suffer such a depression, that the protestant shall, in all futurity, have a visible ascendant over it, and that the utter extinction of popery will happen at no great distance of time from the above date.

Many other things might have been mentioned in this section ; but, as perhaps it is too long already, it shall therefore be now finished, by answering an objection, which probably long ere now has occurred to the reader ; namely, that,

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* See pages 56. 57. and 58.

in the whole account which has been given of the ten kings, no mention has been made of the Greek emperor, as one of them: And as the author is precisely of the same sentiments with Sir Isaac Newton on this point, so he begs leave to present his readers with that distinct, ingenious, and judicious account, which he gives of this matter, as a full answer to the objection.

In the beginning of his 8th chapter of observations upon Daniel, his words are as follow: "In the reign of the Greek emperor, Justin, and again in the reign of Phocas, the bishop of Rome obtained some dominion over the Greek churches, but of no long continuance. His standing dominion was only over the nations of the Western empire, represented by Daniel's fourth beast."

And, commenting upon the 7th chapter of Daniel, 11th and 12th verses, (where we have these words, "I beheld till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames: As concerning the other beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time;") he has the following observations: "And therefore all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldea and Assyria are still the first beast. Those of Media and Persia, are still the second beast. Those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia minor, Syria and Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe on this side of Greece are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beast is confined to the nations on this side the Euphrates; and the body of the fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side of Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beast, among the nations on this side of the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beast, among the nations on this

this side of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians, in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constantinople, among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third."

And, in his commentary upon the 8th chapter of Daniel *; these are his words: "The three first of Daniel's beasts had their dominion taken away, each of them at the rise of the next beast; but their lives were prolonged, and they are all of them still alive. The third beast, or leopard, reigned in his four heads till the rise of the fourth beast, or empire of the Latins, and his life was prolonged under their power. This leopard, reigning in his four heads, signifies the same thing with the he-goat reigning in his four horns; and therefore, the he-goat reigned in his four horns till the rise of Daniel's fourth beast, or empire of the Latins: Then its dominion was taken away by the Latins; but its life was prolonged under their power. The Latins are not comprehended among the nations represented by the he-goat in this prophecy; their power over the Greeks is only named in it, to distinguish the times, in which the he-goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty, but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the Latins; after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days of his last horn; for, in the days of this horn, the goat became mighty, but not by his own power.

" Now,

* See p. 118, &c, of his observations upon Daniel.

“ Now, because this horn was a horn of the goat, we are to look for it among the nations which composed the body of the goat. Amongst those nations he was to rise up and grow mighty : He grew mighty “ towards the South, and towards the East, “ and towards the Pleasant Land ;” and therefore he was to rise up in the North west parts of those nations, and extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns, it was to rise up out of one of them, and subdue the rest, but not by its own power. It was to be assisted by a foreign power, a power superior to itself, the power which took away the dominion of the third beast, the power of the fourth beast. And such a little horn was the kingdom of Macedonia, from the time that it became subject to the Romans. This kingdom, by the victory of the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia, anno Nabonass. 580, ceased to be one of the four horns of the goat, and became a dominion of a new sort : Not a horn of the fourth beast, for Macedonia belonged to the body of the third ; but a horn of the third beast of a new sort, a horn of the goat which grew mighty, but not by his own power, a horn which rose up and grew potent under a foreign power, the power of the Romans.

“ The Romans, by the legacy of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, anno Nabonass. 615, inherited that kingdom, including all Asia Minor, on this side mount Taurus ; anno Nabonass. 684 and 685, they conquered Armenia, Syria, and Judea ; anno Nabonass. 718, they subdued Egypt. And by these conquests the little horn “ waxed exceeding great “ towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land. And it waxed great “ even to the host of heaven ; and cast down some “ of the host and of the stars to the ground, and “ stamped upon them ;” that is, upon the people
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and great men of the Jews. "Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host," the Messiah, the prince of the Jews, whom he put to death, anno Nabonass. 780. "And by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down," viz. in the wars which the armies of the eastern nations, under the conduct of the Romans, made against Judea, when Nero and Vespasian were emperors, anno Nabonass. 816, 817, 818. "And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered." This transgression, in the next words, is called the "transgression of desolation;" and in Daniel, 11th chapter, 31st verse, "the abomination which maketh desolate;" and in Math. 24th chapter, 15th verse, "the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place." And Sir Isaac concludes this explication * with the following accurate reasoning.

"This last horn is by some taken for Antiochus Epiphanes, but not very judiciously. A horn of a beast is never taken for a single person: It always signifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one. Antiochus reigned over one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth under its proper kings. This horn was at first a little one, and waxed exceeding great, but so did not Antiochus. It is described great above all the former horns, and so was not Antiochus: His kingdom, on the contrary, was weak, and tributary to the Romans, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a "king of a fierce countenance, and destroyed wonderfully, and prospered and practised;" that is, prospered in his practices against the holy people: But Antiochus was frightened out of Egypt by a mere message of the Romans, and afterwards routed

routed and baffled by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another's power; Antiochus acted by his own. The horn stood up against the prince of the host of heaven, the prince of princes; and this is not the character of Antiochus, but of Antichrist. The horn cast down the sanctuary to the ground, and so did not Antiochus; he left it standing. The sanctuary and host were trampled under foot 2300 days; and in Daniel's prophecies, days are put for years; but the profanation of the temple in the reign of Antiochus did not last so many natural days. These were to last till the time of the end, till the last end of the indignation against the Jews; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to last till the sanctuary, which had been cast down, should be cleansed, and the sanctuary is not yet cleansed."

Thus Sir Isaac reasons with great strength of argument, and proves, that the Greek empire, seated at Constantinople, is not to be reckoned among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third.

To which purpose also, is the judicious observation of Mr Whiston, who remarks, that, in the 2d chapter of Daniel, 34th and 35th verses, the whole image representing the four monarchies, is supposed to be standing intire, till the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands, smote it upon its feet, and broke it to pieces; so that the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, were broken to pieces together." And in the interpretation, verse 44th, the kingdom of Christ broke to pieces and consumed all these kingdoms. Which (says he) is no otherwise directly accountable but by supposing, that, in the prophecies, all the four monarchies are considered as well distinct from each other geographically as chronologically, and entire from their beginning, till the utter destruction of them altogether, at the last setting up of Christ's kingdom *.

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S E C T. IV.

Objections against the Opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, and others, who fix the Æra of the Beast to the eighth Century, when the Popes were put in Possession of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the Dutchy of Rome, by Charles the Great.

SIR Isaac Newton having been so often quoted in the former section, with such deserved respect, the author acknowledges, that it is with great reluctance he is now obliged to differ from him. But *amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, magis amicus Veritas.*

We have his opinion in the end of his 8th chapter of observations upon Daniel, in these words: "By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, but did not as yet rise up a horn of the beast. It was his temporal dominion, that made him one of the horns: And this dominion he acquired in the latter half of the eight century, by subduing three of the former horns, as above;" (viz. as he explains them, the exarchate of Ravenna, the dutchy of Rome, and the kingdom of the Lombards;) "and now, being arrived at a temporal dominion; and a power above all human judicature, he reigned with a look more stout than his fellows; and times, and laws, were henceforward given into his hands, for a time, times, and half a time, that is, for 1260 solar years, reckoning a time for a calendar year, of 360 days, and a day for a solar year."

It is then owned by Sir Isaac, that the little horn signifies the papal power, and also that this power
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subdued the three above named kingdoms ; and yet, after all, he affirms that the conquest of these three kingdoms gave rise to this horn. And is there not here a plain contradiction ? For was it possible, in the nature of things, for a power to act before it existed ? And if it existed, as certainly it must, before the conquest, how then can its origin be dated from it ?

But perhaps it may be said, that Pipin, and his son Charles, subdued the three kings ; and, as the popes were the springs and advisers in this affair, therefore their overthrow is ascribed to them ; and that the after possession of their territories by the popes was owing to some of these lucky chances, which sometimes happen to favourites, from the folly of weak and prodigal princes. But this will by no means solve the difficulty ; for though princes may confer gifts, and very considerable ones too, upon their favourites, yet seldom or never do they throw away whole kingdoms to them, especially if they are capable to preserve them for themselves. Besides, Charles, who established the popes in this temporal government, was neither weak nor prodigal, but one of the greatest and wisest crowned heads mentioned in history, and one too who had the courage to oppose the designs of the pope's legates, in the synod of Franckfort, when they used their utmost efforts to obtain a decree in favour of the prevailing idolatry.

Neither doth Sir Isaac allow of such a solution ; for, as he hath shewn in his 8th chapter, that the spiritual supreme power of the popes had, some centuries before this, been strongly established, so he tells us, that, in the year 751, pope Zechary deposed Childeric the last of the race of Merovæus ; and, absolving his subjects from the oath of allegiance, gave the kingdom of the Franks to Pipin the father of Charles.

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Since then the popes, by virtue of their spiritual authority, had at this time a power to depose kings and to dispose of their kingdoms, was it not both natural and prudent for Charles and Pipin (who had so liberally shared in their bounty), to support them, and to bestow a temporal government upon them, in requital for their own?

But the misfortune of Sir Isaac lay in this, that, though he seems to make a distinction, yet he really confounds the spiritual with the temporal dominion of the popes; or rather imagined, that their spiritual dominion was of little importance without the temporal. Whereas it is plain, that the spiritual was the cause of the temporal; and that, for a long time, it had existed and been exercised without the other. Thus, in the prophecy of Daniel, chapter 7th, verse 8th, the little horn, which came up among the ten, is called another; In the septuagint the word is *ἄλλος*, which properly signifies *diverse*, or one of a different kind from the ten. Now this diversity could not possibly consist in its being possessed of a temporal dominion, for in that respect there was a sameness in kind with the rest. Nor could it on that account be said to have a "look more stout than its fellows," or a supremacy over them; for several of the ten kings have always been, and still are superior to it in point of secular greatness; and, though its temporal power has been of considerable advantage to it, in supporting its authority; yet by this alone it was never capable to defend itself.

The essential difference between this horn and the rest, is pointed out in the 8th verse, "That he had eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things;" and in the 21st verse, "that he made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;" and in the 25th verse, "that he should speak great words against the Most High," and

and think to change times and laws; and that "they should be given into his hands, until a time, and times, and half a time." And Sir Isaac, having quoted these very passages in Daniel, gives a very judicious explication of them in these words: "The little horn (says he) was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life and soul peculiar to itself, with eyes, and a mouth. By its eyes it was a seer; and by its mouth speaking great things, and changing times and laws, it was a prophet as well as a king. And such a seer, a prophet, and a king, is the church of Rome. A seer *Επίσκοπος*, is a bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this church claims the universal bishopric*. With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations, as an oracle; and pretends to infallibility, and that his dictates are binding to the whole world, which is to be a prophet in the highest degree."

Had Sir Isaac kept close in his view this just distinction which he here makes between that kind of government exercised by the little horn, and that

* As man is the most penetrating and sagacious animal in this world; I am therefore of opinion, that the prediction concerning this little horn, its having "eyes like the eyes of a man," doth signify, that the papal empire should, in point of penetration and profound policy, surpass all the other empires mentioned in the prophecy. Besides, the word *eyes*, when referred to men, in scripture, frequently signifies the understanding and judgment; as Deuteronomy 16th chapter, 19th verse, "A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise;" Proverbs 20th chapter, 8th verse, "A king that sitteth in the throne of judgment, scattereth away all evil with his eyes," Ephesians 1st chapter, 18th verse, "The eyes of the understanding being enlightened," &c. &c. And is not the truth of this prediction abundantly confirmed by history? Since the papal empire hath neither owed its existence, nor its preservation to the force of arms, but only to the superior genius of its founders, and subsequent governors, who, through a vast succession of ages, have perhaps discovered the deepest penetration, and the most consummate address, of which the human mind was capable.

that of the ten kings, and the accurate account which he gives of the rise and progress of the papal authority during the fifth century, and also the very words of the prophet, that this little horn would "pluck up three of the first" or principal horns, he would have seen an absolute necessity for concluding, that the government of this little horn was established long before the conquest of the three kings; that the temporal power thereby acquired, though of considerable use to it, was not essential to its existence, but purely accidental; and that the prediction concerning it was only designed as a mark or evidence, whereby this Antichristian government might be more perfectly known.

Besides, as the continuance of the woman or church in the wilderness, is exactly contemporary with the reign of the beast, the consequence is plain, that, when she entered upon this state of solitude, then the reign of the beast commenced: But it is foretold, in the 12th chapter of the Revelation, 14th verse, that, to escape the persecution of the dragon, "two wings of a great eagle should be given to the woman, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place." Now, as the eagle was the imperial ensign, so it hath been already shewn, that, by the two wings, we are to understand the eastern and western Cæsars, who gave the church their protection against the attacks of pagan idolaters. * Since then, one of the wings of this great eagle was clipt off by the banishment of Augustulus, A. D. 476, it must necessarily follow, that the woman was then not far from the wilderness. But, according to Sir Isaac's hypothesis, she did not enter it, till more than three hundred years thereafter.

Again, the reign of the beast succeeding to that
of

* See p. 48,

of the *αλλος*, in the days of Gratian, as has been observed, what an incredible space of time then must have elapsed, between the origin or dawn of this government, and its full establishment, if this did not happen before the year 780, when, according to Sir Isaac, the beast's reign began, by the pope's possession of the three kingdoms? A space much longer than that of the whole heathen Cæsars!

Not only so, but by his account of the matter, the ten kingly governments will be wholly excluded, and the succession will be from one Cæsar to another. For, if the ten kings, who are expressly said to "receive power as kings, one hour with the "beast;" if, I say, their governments were not fully established before the year 780, it is plain that the first established government, which succeeded to that of Augustulus, was the Cæsarian under Charlemain; and, as he swallowed up the greatest part of these kings, it is consequent that the reign of the beast could not commence in his time.

This will farther appear, if we consider that the reign of the beast, after its full establishment, was to begin with the practice of idolatry in its highest kinds: But if idolatry in these respects was not fully practised long before his time, then it could not be said to commence in the reign of Charles, who, in the synod of Francfort, in opposition to the pope, in a great measure abolished it, and condemned the second council of Nice, (which had established the practice of it by a law) publishing at the same time a book, containing the reasons of its condemnation*.

But that which chiefly occasioned Sir Isaac's mistake, seems to have been this: Finding these words in the 17th chapter of the Revelation, 13th verse,

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* Schotan. Continuat. Hist. Sulp. Sev. p. 138.

"These (viz. the ten kings, mentioned in the 12th verse) have one mind, and shall give their strength and power unto the beast;" from this he concluded, that the reign of the beast could not commence, till the ten kings had subjected themselves to the authority of the pope, whom he justly looks upon as the head of the beast. That these were his sentiments, appears from his observations upon Daniel*: His words are these:

"While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the western empire, and founded several kingdoms therein of different religions from the church of Rome. But these kingdoms by degrees embraced the Roman faith, and at the same time submitted to the pope's authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted in the end of the fifth century, the Goths in Spain, in the end of the sixth, and the Lombards in Italy were conquered by Charles the Great, A. C. 774. Between the years 775, and 779, the same Charles extended the pope's authority over all Germany and Hungary, as far as the river Theyffe, and the Baltic sea; he then set him above all human judicature, and, at the same time, assisted him in subduing the city and dutchy of Rome."

Thus Sir Isaac appears plainly to have had in view, the above-quoted passage in the Apocalypse. But, if this is attended to with all that accuracy, which should be bestowed on writings of this kind, it will appear, that it gives no manner of countenance to the above explication. For, in the nature of the thing, it is evident, that the beast must have existed before "the ten kings gave their power and strength unto it." And, according to

* Sir Isaac Newton's observations, p. 113.

to the natural meaning of the words, it is plain' that when the apostle had the first sight of these ten kings in the vision, they are then represented to him, in the present tense, to be of one mind, "these have one mind;" and then it is predicted by the angel, that, in some future indeterminate time, "they shall give their strength and power "to the beast;" but this precise time is not fixed.

The word rendered by our translators, *mind*, in the original is *νομεν*, and is used by the apostle Paul, 1st Corinthians, 1st chapter and 10th verse, to signify a religious judgment or sentiment, and is thus translated, "be ye joined together in the same judgment." Now it is certain from history, that the ten kings, when they first settled in the Roman territories, were generally of one sentiment or judgment as to religious matters, being for the most part heathen idolaters. And, though the greatest number of them soon embraced Christianity, yet, at the beginning of the sixth century, the Franks excepted, the bulk of the rest were Arians.

But, though the conquerors were mostly of a different profession from the conquered, yet as the latter, who were vastly more numerous than the former, had been the subjects of the western empire, when an universal obedience to the bishop of Rome, as to their spiritual head, had been enjoined, so it appears that they and their posterity continued this submission, and distinguished themselves by the name of Catholics. Hence we read that, in the beginning of the sixth century, there were catholic bishops as well as Arian, throughout all the provinces of the empire. And though Theodoric, at that time king of Italy, held, as all the Goths did, the tenets of Arius, yet we are informed,

ed, that he allowed his subjects to profess, without molestation, the faith of the council of Nice, (embraced by the church of Rome), nay that he gave full liberty to the Goths themselves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of Arius, and embrace the catholic faith *. And, as he countenanced the church of Rome, by presiding at the election of Pope Symmachus, so we are told, after the year 507, (his grandson Amalaric, then king of the Goths, being under age), that Theodoric, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in this young prince's dominions, as in his own.

As, therefore, the Franks, who perhaps were the most numerous and powerful nation of the ten, had subjected themselves to the Roman see before the end of the fifth century, and as catholic bishops dependent on the pope were settled in all the rest; the people, then, represented by the beast, in the year 512, were that collective body, who called themselves by the name of Catholics, submitted to the authority of the pope, and were by far the greatest society in the western empire.

If it should be alledged that some of these, upon occasions, rebelled against the pope's authority, this no more disproves the reality of his government, than an unsuccessful rebellion proves the overthrow of a state.

Soon after, "all the ten kings gave their power and strength unto the beast;" but as he must necessarily have had an existence before that event; so the prediction concerning it must, of consequence, be designed only as a mark or characteristic by which the beast may be discovered.

If, after all, it shall be still objected, that a horn always signifies a temporal power in the prophecies;

cies ; I answer, that there are only two spiritual powers concerning which we have any large account in scripture, viz. those of Christ and of papal antichrist ; and as the spiritual government of papal antichrist, in its essential and distinguishing characters, is represented by a horn, Daniel vii. so Christ and his spiritual government is represented by the same figure, cxxxii. psalm 16th and 17th verses, and Luke 1st chapter and 69th verse.

APPEND

APPENDIX to Chapter I.

Of the three Horns mentioned by the Prophet Daniel, which were to be plucked up by the little Horn.

IT is predicted, Daniel 7th chapter and 8th verse, that a "little horn" (by which the most judicious interpreters understand the papal government) should "pluck up, by the roots, three of the first," that is, three of the ten horns; for all the ten are called the "first horns" in the 24th verse, in opposition to the little horn; not only because they were first perceived by the prophet in the vision, but also because, in the order of time, they were somewhat sooner to arrive at the full exercise of their power and authority; though, as I have already shewn, as to the complete establishment of both kinds of government, the little horn, and the ten horns were to be contemporary.

Now it is plain from history, that the exarchate of Ravenna, and the kingdom of the Lombards, were subverted by means of the papal power. For, in the first place, the bishops of Rome, by their violent opposition to those imperial edicts, which were published against idolatry, in the beginning of the eighth century, inflamed the superstitious Italians with an implacable hatred to the Greek emperors; and at length, by their heading the rebellion, and usurping the temporal government of Rome, they made the exarchate of Ravenna an easy conquest to the Lombards.

Afterwards, when the kings of the Lombards began to wrest from them their usurped authority, they called in the Franks to their assistance, and never ceased, until, by their importunities, and the weight

weight of their authority *, they had procured the entire subversion of the Lombard-government.

Thus far the "little horn" did (according to the prophecy) "pluck up two of the first horns," and so far the author agrees with Sir Isaac Newton. But that the dutchy of Rome was the third, or speaking more properly, that it was the first of the three, he can by no means allow: since, from the concurring testimony of all historians who have written upon the subject, it appears that the Duke of Rome, as well as the Duke of Naples, was a magistrate subject to the exarch of Ravenna, and that all of them depended upon, and were accountable to the Greek emperors; and therefore it would be as great an absurdity to suppose that either the dutchy of Rome or the dutchy of Naples were horns, or, which is the same thing, independent governments, as to suppose that the cities of York or Bristol are states distinct from Great Britain.

Neither can it be imagined that the empire raised by Charlemain was the third horn, since that empire was extended not only over Italy, but also over France and Germany; and therefore, though the popes, by their profound policy, and unwearied opposition, at length drove the Frank or German emperors out of Italy, and parcelled it into a great many small independent states, from which they had nothing to fear; yet, as Italy was only a part of that empire formed by Charlemain, and not the whole, and as both the imperial dignity and government (though greatly limited) have still an existence, it must follow that this empire cannot, with

* Pope Zechary sent letters to Pipin king of the Franks, wherein he told him, that if he came not speedily against the Lombards, *pro data sibi potentia, alienandum fore a regno Dei, et vita aeterna.*

with any propriety, be termed the *third born* that was to be extirpated by the papal power. And as neither the dutchy of Rome, nor the Frank empire can be reckoned one of the three governments which were to be overthrown by the papacy, so, to me, it would seem most likely, that the very first of these governments was the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

For, though Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths bestowed many favours upon the church of Rome, and amongst others in a manner divested himself of all power in church-affairs, by granting a full liberty to the council held by Symmachus, A. D. 499, to make such laws or regulations concerning the election of future popes, as they should judge most proper, (which privilege was chearfully embraced ; and, in consequence thereof, a decree was passed, whereby future * elections were to be determined by the majority of the clergy) ; and tho', as we have already observed, the popes, in the reign of Theodoric, had arrived at the height of spiritual tyranny, so that, under his protection, they trampled upon churches, bishops, and emperors, with impunity ; yet, afterwards, we find that Theodoric changed the whole course of his behaviour towards them, and seemed as much disposed to pull them down, as formerly to exalt them. One pope he cast into prison, where he continued until death ; and another he raised to the papal chair, without paying any regard to the laws of election.

Now, since Theodoric is celebrated by many historians, as one of the best, and wisest princes, the cause of this quite different, nay seemingly cruel and imperious treatment of the pope, and Roman clergy, appears to be altogether inexplicable ; unless

* Bower's hist. of popes, vol. ii, p. 250. Council. t. 4. p. 1312.

less we shall suppose he had ground to think, that they, in concert with the Greek emperor, had formed treasonable designs against his government. And that this was the cause, will appear to be highly probable, if we shall consider the following things :

1. That the Greek emperor Justin, from the beginning of his reign, expressed the most extravagant regard for the see of Rome, and, contrary to all the laws of justice, charity, and even common decency, forced the clergy in his dominions to subject themselves to the authority of the Roman pontiffs; and, to gratify their pride and revenge, not only exposed the bishops of Constantinople, but also the memories of his own predecessors, Zeno and Anastasius, to the basest indignities *.

2. That Justin, to shew himself a good Catholic, proceeded to persecute his Arian subjects, and to drive them from their churches; which occasioned Theodoric (who was an Arian himself) to order Pope John, with some bishops and Roman senators, to repair to Constantinople, that by their influence, (which he knew would be the only effectual means) a stop might be put to the persecution of the Arians; at the same time threatening, if they did not obtain a revocation of the imperial edict, that he would retaliate all the severities practised against the Arians, upon the catholics in his dominions.

3. That though the pope, by his influence and authority, procured a revocation of the edict against the Arians, and that they should be restored to their former privileges; yet, upon his return, he, and the rest of his attendants, by the king's orders, were cast into prison, where, soon thereafter, he died.

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* See p. 81.

4. Though none of the contemporary historians of any character assign a reason for the king's displeasure against the pope, and though Mr Bower is of opinion that treason was not the cause; yet, with other historians, he agrees as to this fact, "That the chief men at Rome, were at this very time suspected of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the court of Constantinople, and machinating the ruin of the Gothic empire in Italy."

5. Supposing Theodoric had received a full information of their treasonable practices; yet, upon many accounts, it might have been inconsistent with the rules of prudence and sound policy, to bring the matter to a public trial; since, probably, such a number of conspirators might have been discovered, as would have rendered either their punishment or pardon dangerous to the state; especially if we consider that Theodoric was then far advanced in years, and that his grandson, who was his heir, was only a child. Whereas, if we shall suppose that they were punished for a crime of a different kind, then no good reason can be given for the general silence of historians concerning it.

6. That which gives weight to the above reasoning, is the behaviour of Theodoric, upon the death of the pope. Contrary to his former practice, and without any regard to the laws of election, he interposed, and named one Felix to the pontificate, who had not been proposed by any of the contending parties. But, finding that this overbearing conduct met with great opposition, he condescended to come to the following agreement with them, viz. "That they should acknowledge Felix for lawful bishop of Rome, but, for the future, they should be allowed to chuse whom they pleased; that the king should confirm or not confirm,

firm, as he should think fit, the person chosen by them; but that he should not be deemed lawful bishop of Rome, nor be ordained, by what majority soever chosen, till confirmed by him." And it is very remarkable, that one of the reasons given by Theodoric for reserving this negative to himself and his successors, was, (as he declared), lest the election should fall upon such men as were disaffected to the government, or suspected of maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemies of the state*.

If the preceeding facts are duly weighed, and, at the same time, if we shall consider, how provoking it must have been to Pope John and the Roman clergy to be threatened and overawed by Theodoric; with what reluctance they must have undertaken the protection of the Arians; what profound reverence was paid to the haughty prelate at Constantinople†, how natural it was for him to chuse the protection of a catholic rather than of an Arian prince; and to have one rather at the distance of Constantinople than at Ravenna; and also to think (as Theodoric's death could then be at no great distance) that it might be much in his power to promote the conquest of the Ostrogoths: I say, if these things, and the above facts are properly considered, it will appear to be highly probable, that Pope John and his attendants, in concert with the Emperor Justin, the emperor's nephew and successor Count Justinian, and the rest of the leading men at the court of Constantinople, projected the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy; and that this was the cause of the pope's imprisonment, of Theodoric's interpoling at the next election, and of his obliging the Romans to enact, that none for the future should be ordained

* Cassiodor. l. 8. c. 15.

† The Emperor Justin, the clergy, and nobility went out of the city to meet him; and in the church his throne was raised above the bishop of Constantinople's.

ordained bishop of Rome, until the election should be confirmed by his authority.

As thus we have reason to conclude, that a plan for the ruin of the Ostrogothic state was formed by Pope John, so it appears from Procopius and Euagrius (who lived in these times) that the same treasonable designs and practices were adopted by his successors. Thus in the year 537 (when Justinian's army, under the command of Belisarius, approached to the siege of Rome) we are told that Vitiges, then king of the Ostrogoths, insisted that Pope Silverius, the senate, and people of Rome, should take an oath of fidelity to him, and that, finding it necessary to retire to Ravenna for the recruiting of his army, he carried along with him several senators, as a security for the good behaviour of the rest. Such precautions necessarily suppose, he had good reason to believe, that the pope and the generality of the Romans were enemies to his government; and the event soon justified his suspicions. For, immediately after his departure, the Romans, notwithstanding their late oath, opened their gates, and with great joy received Belisarius; and Euagrius positively affirms, that this was brought to pass through the persuasion of Pope Silverius*. The garrison left by Vitiges, finding that they could not make head, at the same time, against the emperor's army and the citizens; retired by the Flaminian gate, while Belisarius entered by the Asinarian.

Thus, through the treachery of Pope Silverius, the city of Rome was delivered up to the imperial general; and this paved his way to the conquest of the Ostrogothic kingdom, which, otherwise, would seem to have been altogether impracticable; since,

* Euagr. l. 4. c. 18. See also Procopius, l. 1. & 3. for a full confirmation of the above and following facts.

since, upon his taking possession of the city of Rome, he declared, in a letter to the Emperor, that, after he had left garrisons for the necessary defence of other cities, his troops, abstracting from the Roman citizens, amounted only to five thousand men ; whereas the Ostrogoths were then under the government of a powerful prince, and able general, who soon thereafter, at the head of an army a hundred and fifty thousand strong, besieged Belisarius in the city of Rome, and continued the siege a year and nine days; when, his army being much weakened and diminished by famine, and by the fatigues and length of the siege, and the imperialists being greatly increased by new supplies, he was obliged to retire, and, after a two years struggle, to yield to the superior fortune of the Greeks.

The treachery of the Romans was repented in such a manner by Vitiges, that he caused the senators, whom he had carried along with him to Ravenna, to be put to death. And afterwards, when the Ostrogoths had recovered Rome, their king, Totila, (as sensible that the betraying of the city to Belisarius had been the source of all their misfortunes), having upbraided the senators for their perfidy, in the first transports of his passion, he threatened to make them all slaves, and was once fully resolved to level the city with the ground.

The Goths, under the conduct of Totila, greatly retrieved their affairs, and continued the war for many years; but, after the surrender of Ravenna to Belisarius, as they were never capable to retake it, so this opened a passage to the Emperor for pouring in fresh troops into Italy, whereby their government was at length subverted.

Thus it has been shown, on what accounts the destruction of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths may

be ascribed to the papal power, or in what respects both the contrivance and accomplishment of it may be attributed to the popes and Roman clergy. And if, for the above reasons, we shall allow, that the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was the first of the three horns which was plucked up, by means of the papal power, or little horn, then it must also be granted, that this power had an existence in the beginning of the sixth century, and consequently the above explication will serve to corroborate the arguments advanced in the third section.

C H A P. II.

Of the Character and Duration of the Witnesses, mentioned in the 11th Chapter; together with the grand Events predicted to happen, at the finishing of their Testimony, and the Calamities preceding the same.

S E C T I.

Of their Character and Duration.

MR Mede hath shewn, with a marvellous penetration, that the five chapters preceding the 11th do represent the state of the Roman empire from the apostles days until the millennium; and that this and the following chapters contains a much nobler prophecy, namely, the state of the christian church, from its original, until the end of time.

The vision opens with another view of that
mighty

mighty angel mentioned in the former chapter, who had told the apostle in the last verse, that "he must prophecy a second time." It appears from the description given of him, in the 10th chapter, and also from his calling the two witnesses, in the 3d verse, "his witnesses," that he could be no other than our adorable Saviour, the angel of the covenant.

This angel (as in the 1st verse) gives the apostle a reed, and orders him to "measure the temple, the altar, and them that dwell therein." Now, as this temple is opposed to the outer-court, mentioned in the 2d verse; so by it we are to understand the inner-court, into which none but the priests were admitted. And, since true christians are called the priests of God, through Jesus Christ; this *temple*, and these *worshippers*, are then plainly typical of the primæval state of the church, which, before the introduction of idolatry, was formed, and exactly measured, by the rule or reed of God's word; and the altar in this temple fitly represents the blood of the martyrs, (which continued to be shed during the greatest part of this period); especially if we consider that they are said, in the 6th chapter, 9th verse, to be "under the altar;" and also that the vision in the 6th chapter hath an evident respect to these very times of heathen persecution*.

To this state of spiritual purity in the church, succeeded an external form of religion, not measured by the rule of God's word, but abounding in superstitious ceremonies, and destitute of the life and power of godliness; on which account it became abominable in the sight of God; and was therefore, as in the 2d verse, ordered to be excluded, or cast out

* Vid. Mæd. Comment. Apocalyp. p. 39. Edit. Cantabrig. 1649.

out from his presence, and given to the Gentiles, or restorers of idolatry; and it is predicted, that this "outer-court, or holy city †", would be profaned by these idolaters, for the space "of forty and two months," which is the very time fixed, in the 13th chapter, for the reign of the beast.

But was this illustrious angel to throw aside all concern for his church in this world, whilst it was thus polluted by the Gentiles? By no means; for he tells the apostle, in the 3d verse, that he would give power to his two witnesses, to express their grief and resentment against this profanation; to hold forth the word of life, to call upon these idolaters to repent; and that they should continue their prophecy, or testimony, for 1260 days, that is, during all that long tract of time, in which the outer court was to be trodden under foot by these Gentiles.

Here Mr Mede puts the following question:
 "Since the residence of the woman in the wilderness, the testimony of the witnesses, the reign of the
 beast,

† Mr Mede, in his commentary upon this passage, shews, that the outer-court, and holy city, signify the same thing; because (as he reasons) the outer-court was the only place of worship allowed to the Israelites, or the people belonging to the holy city: And he further observes, that, in the wilderness, the tabernacle had no court but one, into which none but the priests and Levites were allowed to enter; and that the outer-court was nothing else but the camp of Israel, or the then holy city: And he concludes, that the words are of the same meaning, as if they had run thus: "The court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles, and they shall tread it under foot forty-two months." He adds, that it is common in this book and elsewhere, by way of enallage, to substitute the substantive which preceded instead of the relative, and that sometimes a synonymous substantive is used in this manner; an instance of which he gives, Acts 25th chapter, 21st verse, "But when Paul appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept, till I might send him to Cesar."

beast, and the profanation of the outer-court of the temple, are all of them contemporary : What reason can then be assigned, for computing the duration of the two first by days, and of the two last, by months ?” His answer is both just and ingenious. He observes, that months were measured by the revolutions of the moon, which presides over the darkness of the night, and are therefore properly used to mark out the reign of ignorance and idolatry ; but, on the contrary, that glorious luminary the sun rules over the day, which as fitly represents the purity and splendor of the true church, and the testimony of her witnesses. And, in support of this explication, he quotes the Apostle Paul, Acts 26th chapter, 18th verse, who declares, that the design of his mission to the Gentiles was to “turn them “from darkness to light, and from the power of “Satan to God;” and again, (when he is dissuading christians from matrimonial connections with idolaters), “What fellowship (saith he) hath light with “darkness ?”

The witnesses are called two. But we are not from this to imagine, that two single persons were to continue witnessing against idolatry for 1260 years: This is altogether incredible. Nor do we find in history, that, in every age after the commencement of popery, there were two principal persons who headed the opposition to it. But they are called two ; first, to denote the sufficiency of their evidence, since by the law both of God and man, “at the mouth of two witnesses every thing “is established;” but especially because their testimony was to be founded upon the word of God, the two Testaments, Old and New. Hence also they are said, verse 4th, to be the “two candlesticks “standing before the God of the earth.” Which words have a plain reference to the prophecy of Zechariah, chapter 4th, verse 2d ; only in that pro-

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phesy.

phesy mention is made but of one candlestick, whereas two are mentioned in this, very probably, because there was then but one Testament. For, though particular churches are termed candlesticks in this book, yet it is certain, that all the light which they give to the world proceeds from the word of God, which is said to be a "light shining in a dark place." Lastly, they are called two witnesses, in allusion to the two types of them, Joshua and Zerubbabel, who are said, in the forequoted chapter of Zechariah, to be represented by the two olive trees there mentioned. The witnesses, in this chapter, are represented by the same figure; which, in both cases, signifies, that they were to be anointed with the spirit of God, whereby they should be qualified to confirm the truths of his word against all opposition.

But we shall now proceed to a more particular examination of their character. As to this, it is predicted in the 3d verse, that these witnesses should "prophecy one thousand two hundred and threescore days (that is, 1260 years), clothed in sackcloth." Now, as in the 8th verse, Rome, on account of its impurities, is spiritually called Sodom; so the witnesses clothed in this mournful habit (which points out the grief and sorrow of their mind), were to resemble that righteous man Lot, who, as the apostle Peter tells us, "dwelling among the filthy Sodomites, in seeing and hearing vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds."

Again, in resemblance of Elias, who testified against the idolatry of Baal, we are told in the 5th and 6th verses, "that, if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and, if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of

“of their prophecy.” Thus, as Elias called down fire from heaven, whereby his and the enemies of religion were destroyed, and would not intercede for rain to the Israelites, though they were half dead with thirst, until they had slain the priests of Baal, and abolished his worship; so the same is predicted concerning the witnesses; but with this difference, that, what had been literally done by the former, was to be done spiritually by the latter, as will appear by looking to the 8th verse, which is a key to the whole. So that it was not by material fire that these witnesses were to punish their enemies, nor material rain which they were to withhold from them; but the fire was to proceed from their mouths: When, as the ministers of God’s justice, they were to denounce both temporal and eternal judgments upon the enemies of God, and the persecutors of his people; which judgments (unless they repented) were most certainly to take place. Thus God expresseth himself, Jeremiah 5th chapter, 14th verse, “Behold, I will make my word in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them.” And what the prophets denounce in the name of God, according to the language of scripture, they themselves are said to do. Thus again, Jeremiah 1st chapter, 10th verse, “I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant.” Let none therefore wonder, that fire should proceed out of the mouth of the witnesses; since (as Mr Mede observes) to them is committed the sole power, both of denouncing judgments, and of obtaining favours. Hence we are told, “that they shall have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy.” Whereby is intimated, that, as no prayers can be acceptable to God,

God, but these which are offered by his faithful servants who worship him in spirit and in truth; so, however they might pray for the conversion of idolaters, yet no intercessions would be made by them for special spiritual blessings to such profaners of his temple, whilst they continued obstinate in their impieties, notwithstanding all the light afforded them, until, having rejected their idols, they shall return to the worship of one God, through one mediator Jesus Christ; and thus an end would be put to this mournful testimony.

Lastly, it is foretold in the 6th verse, that they should "have power over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they would." The witnesses, in this part of their testimony, plainly resemble Moses. From which Mr Mede concludes, that the power of the witnesses, figured by this type, was not to be exercised through the whole duration of their prophecy, but only towards the end of it, or the time of the vials; when, under the conduct of some great personages, representing Moses, the church should be delivered from the tyranny of the beast, by his undergoing a series of plagues like the Egyptian. Thus, in the 16th chapter, the first plague of the vials fell upon the earth, whereby "the worshippers of the beast were smitten with a boil or grievous sore;" by the second and third, "the waters were turned into blood;" and the rest were to humble these idolatrous nations, by yet greater punishments. But of these afterwards. Only, it is proper here to observe, that this last power of the witnesses doth respect the effusion of the vials.

It is evident then, from the above explication, that the character of the witnesses was to consist in their aversion to idolatry; their testifying against it; their holding forth the word of God in its native

tive purity; their denouncing his judgments against idolaters; and, during the last days of their prophecy, in delivering the christian church from the tyranny and slavery of the beast, by inflicting upon that society, which he represents, severe and terrible plagues.

That this prophecy concerning the witnesses has had its accomplishment, is plain from church-history. * And, tho' in the times of great darkness and ignorance, their number may appear to have been very small and inconsiderable: Yet we ought to consider what God said to Elijah, when he imagined that he stood alone in the cause of religion, that he had "reserved seven thousand men in Israel, who had not bowed their knee to Baal."

But, before we conclude this section, it is necessary to observe, that there is one qualification of which the witnesses must be possessed, namely, "their personal knowledge of the idolatries against which they testify." For, as Lot, "hearing and seeing, from day to day," the impurities of the Sodomites, testified his grief and displeasure against their unlawful deeds; and, as Zerubbabel, Joshua, Elias, and Moses, dwelt among the idolaters, against whom they gave their testimony; so the witnesses must be supposed to resemble them in this respect. Nay, it is absolutely necessary, that witnesses have a personal knowledge of those things which they declare; otherwise their testimony, if it depends upon the information of others, cannot be sustained.

Now, this makes a wide difference between us in the kingdom of Britain and the protestant states in Germany. For, as popery is not tolerated by our laws; so, amongst us, papists are obliged in the most private manner to perform their worship. But, in Germany,

* Vide Matt. Flau. Hist. Eccl. Magdeburg, Usher. Alix. &c.

Germany, protestants and papists are so blended together, that frequently, in the same state, and often in the same city, they openly, and in the sight of each other, go about their quite different religious services. And thus, as the protestants in Germany are perhaps the greatest single body of the reformed, as they have the best opportunities of observing the idolatries of the church of Rome, and of testifying against the same; as they have always testified against these idolatries, both by their doctrine and example; on these accounts, they may be justly conceived to represent the witnesses, "in the last days of their testimony." And since, from the 3d section of the former chapter, there arises a probability, that the "reign of the beast is near a conclusion," and consequently the testimony of the witnesses also; it is therefore to be expected, that some signal stroke is fast approaching, whereby an end will be put to the empire of idolatry. But, prior to this great event, we are told, in the following verses of the 11th chapter, that some heavy calamities were to fall upon the witnesses.

S E C T. II.

Of the Grand Events which are predicted to happen at the Time when the Witnesses shall finish their Testimony, and the Calamities preceding the same.

WE have just now shewn, that the protestant or reformed churches in Germany properly represent the witnesses, in the last days of their testimony; and likewise, that the end of their testimony seems to draw nigh. Have we not then reason

son to expect, (according to the genius of this prophecy), that some great deliverer, resembling Moses, should now make his appearance in the christian world? And has not such a deliverer of God's church appeared, resembling Moses in many respects, as a law-giver, a philosopher, a prince, and general? One untainted with vice*, yet loaded with reproach; of singular moderation, yet accused of ambition; of highest dignity, yet condescending to the meanest; in a word, one of invincible fortitude, supported by the God of Heaven, and whose heart glows with the love of truth, of liberty, and mankind? Methinks my readers now prevent me, and, with an united voice, proclaim the *immortal Frederic King of Prussia, the man destined by the providence of God to achieve this arduous work.*

Other magnanimous heroes presented themselves in this glorious cause: Our late valiant, just, and generous sovereign, as Elector of Hanover, and those illustrious commanders, Henry of Prussia, and Ferdinand of Brunswick, whose names shall be dear to the friends of liberty, whilst the sun gives his light, and the moon performs her revolutions. But the first stands single in the rolls of fame, in the full possession of unequalled, unrivalled, unutterable glory. Like Moses, he hath opposed idolaters, and performed miracles, miracles beyond mere human power; and, as to the manner, beyond mere human conception: Like him, he was obliged to fly from his enemies; and like him, he has been subjected to the sentence of death; and whatever has been done or suffered by the Protestant head, must be considered as done or suffered by the body itself.

Now it is foretold in the 7th verse, that, "when the witnesses shall finish their testimony," or about the time of their finishing it, (for thus Mr Mede

* The author means gross acts of vice,

Mede translates, and the original *οταν τολισωσι* doth signify, then the "beast that ascendeth out of the "bottomless pit shall make war against them, and "shall overcome them, and kill them." And have not the late events seemingly fulfilled this prediction? For is there not a remarkable difference between the parties in the last war and these in the reigns of king William and queen Anne? Then protestants and papists joined together, to check the ambitious views of France. Then Gog and Magog, in some respects, might be said to fight the one against the other: But, in the last war, none but Protestant armies were to be found on the one side, and, on the other, the principal parties, who began and carried on the war, are France and Austria, the two greatest popish powers in Europe, whom continual jealousies had divided ever since the reformation! followed by the papal princes in Germany, and their mercenaries, the Russians and degenerate Swedes.

It has been indeed alledged, that his Prussian Majesty was the aggressor. But, if we consider, that he has given the public all the evidence that a man in his circumstances could possibly give, of the dark, and, to speak in the language of the text, of the infernal conspiracy which was formed against him; that, after he had entered the territories of Saxony, he declared to the Empress-queen, If she gave him proper security, that his dominions should not be attacked by her or her allies, for that year and the next, he would immediately recal his troops (to which she evidently gave an arrogant and evasive answer); and if we reflect upon the forwardness and activity of her allies in commencing hostilities, which plainly proves the preconcert; and if to all these we add the prudence and penetration of his Prussian Majesty, which would certainly have prevented his taking a step that he must have seen,

seen, would bring upon him the vengeance of so many powerful enemies; I say, if these things are duly weighed and considered, it will manifestly appear, to every ingenuous mind, that, as in the text, the "beast hath made war against the witnesses;" that the king of Prussia has been forced, contrary to his inclinations, to begin it, merely to preserve himself from the premeditated blow, which was designed to crush him, and the protestant interest, at once.

It is hoped, then, that this point is fully settled; that the beast, in this instance, has made war against the witnesses; and that such, who still pretend scepticism in this matter, must renounce all regard to moral evidence, and consequently, in this respect, at least, to common sense.

The next thing foretold, is, that "the beast should overcome the witnesses." But surely there is a vast difference between their being overcome, and their being destroyed. And may it not then be supposed, that this prediction had its accomplishment in the memorable repulse, which his Prussian Majesty received from Marshal Daun at the battle of Chotternitz?

If we review the dismal consequences thereof, that, immediately thereafter, he was obliged to raise the siege of Prague; to retreat from his enemies; to bear the mortification of having his capital insulted, and laid under contribution; and to be pressed hard on every side; whilst Ducal Prussia was invaded by the Russians, his dominions upon the Rhine and Westphalia, the Electorate of Hanover, and the Langraviate of Hesse, were, in a manner, subdued by the French; If these things are considered, it will appear, that he and his allies were overcome, in a very high and severe sense, and that nothing but the over-ruling providence of God

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could

could have extricated them from these mortal dangers.

The battle of Chosternitz was fought June 1757; in the months of July and August, the Duke of Cumberland was overpowered by the superior force of France: In September following, the beast, flushed with success, and confident of conquest, proceeded to kill the witnesses in their head *; when the emperor, with his Aulic council, issued the ban of the empire against the king of Prussia; and, in Autumn 1758, the ban was also formally denounced against the Elector of Hanover, the Dukes of Brunswick and Saxgotha, &c. whereby, (as far as they could), they were deprived of every privilege, of liberty, and of life itself; and an army was employed by the popish princes in the empire to execute the sentence, whose name did bear the nature of their office.

This seems still to be more clearly pointed out in the 8th verse: "And their dead bodies shall lie in the streets of the great city, which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified."

Sodom, or Egypt, on account of their impurities and idolatries, do fitly represent the idolatry and spiritual whoredom of Rome; and the word *spiritually* (as hath been remarked) is a key to the whole. Farther, the words *ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ*, which we have rendered "in the street," ought rather to have

* Thus Hosea, 6th chapter, verse 5th, when God denounces temporal judgments against the Israelites, he expresses himself thus: I have "hewn them by the prophets, I have slain them by the words of my mouth." And even in the doctrinal style of the apostle, 2 Corinthians, 3d chapter, 6th verse, the *letter* is said to *kill*, that is, the letter of the law subjects the transgressor to death; and even, in our common language, an attainted person is said to be *dead in law*.

have been translated, " in an extensive province." For as Mr Mede observes, the adjective *πλευς* is frequently used, but the substantive *πλευσις*, signifying *vicus*, or a *street*, is seldom or never to be found in any ancient Greek author; whereas it is common enough for them to express themselves by adjectives, leaving it to the reader to supply the substantive from the context. Besides, it was not in a street of Rome, or of Jerusalem, where our Saviour suffered, (for he was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem); but in a province then belonging to Rome; and the imperial decrees and ban of the empire have been published against the king of Prussia and his allies in the empire, throughout the popish part of Germany, which is an extensive province, pertaining to the present see of Rome *.

But,

* Some may possibly imagine, that the overcoming and killing of the witnesses, must relate to an event, which shall have greater, and more extensive bad effects than either the defeat of the Protestant allies in summer 1757, or their being laid under the ban of the empire. To obviate this difficulty, I shall lay before the reader Mr Mede's judicious observation on this very point, who, as he wrote more than a century ago, cannot be supposed to have had any bias upon his mind from the events of this present war. His words are these: " Neque tamē, ex eo quod clades hæc novissima sit, atque etiamnum futura, quicquam de gravitate ejus, supra omnes quæ præcesserant, certo statui potest. Forte enim non gravitatis nomine (certe non diuturnitatis) quam quod in signum esset, protinus tunc finiendi luctus testium, atque instantis ruinæ Romæ hæc urbis; ideo sola ex omnibus, quibus bestia sanctos contritura esset cladibus, singularem mentionem et descriptionem meruit: Perinde nempe ut circundatio Hierosolymorum, ab exercitu Cæsarii Galli, paulo ante fatalem per Titum obsationem, in excidium ejusdem, tunc instantis et pro foribus, signum, prædicta fuerit. Ut quemadmodum apostolis, de temporis illius excidii signis quaerentibus dixerit servator. *Cum videritis circumdari*

But, in the 9th verse, it is predicted, that " they
 " of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and
 " nations, shall see their dead bodies three days
 " and a halt, and shall not suffer their dead bo-
 " dies to be put in their graves."

And is there not some reason to conclude, that,
 by the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and
 nations, this vast collective body under our au-
 gust Sovereign the King of Britain is pointed
 out?

It is plain, that we have seen the deplorable
 state of our brethren, to whom we are united by
 the closest ties : We have beheld it, not as indiffe-
 rent spectators of their woe, but with hearts full
 of sympathy towards them, and of just resent-
 ment against their ungenerous and implacable e-
 nemies. Under God, we were the instruments
 in disabling one of the greatest powers in the
 confederacy, from acting in concert with the rest ;
 and, by the large subsidy granted to the king of
 Prussia, and, added to his other resources, he was
 capable, amidst all misfortunes, to act with such
 steadiness and vigour, that, notwithstanding the
 utmost efforts of his numerous enemies, they never
 had it in their power fully to execute the ban of
 the empire against him. And if, for the above
 reasons *, we shall date the witnesses death from
 autumn 1758, (when the ban was formally pu-
 blished against all the king of Prussia's allies in the
 empire), which is the last date fixed by the hypo-
 thesis ; and if to this we shall add three years and

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*dati ab exercitu Jerusalem, tunc scitote quod appropinquavit de-
 solatio ejus. Simile hic innui putetur de excidio Babylonis ;
 cum videritis triennem istam et dimidii anni testium cadem, sci-
 tote quod appropinquavit, desolatio urbis magnae."*

* See note on p. 122.

a. half, the time the witnesses were to continue in a state of death ; then it will follow, that, in spring 1762, their reviviscence may take place, and the ban in effect be reversed.

But some humane souls may be ready to say, Shall these illustrious heroes, after all their past sufferings *, undergo a new train of calamities ? How can flesh and blood support itself under such terrible shocks ? or how can their subjects bear such calamities ? Such sympathy is truly laudable ; but they ought to consider, that “ what is impossible for men is possible for God.”

Let none rashly accuse the author for writing in this manner. He appeals to the events of this present war. How often have we given up the king of Prussia for lost ? and has he not as often emerged beyond all the rules of human probability ? Is not the hand of God visible in all this ? And is he not the same God yesterday, to-day, and for ever ?

This is by no means designed to depreciate the Prussian monarch. No man can have a higher opinion of him than the author. God has bestowed upon him extraordinary talents, and it must be acknowledged, that he hath employed them in an extraordinary manner, But let his abilities be as great as humanity can attain, yet, has he not been defeated, disappointed, and more than once, from the midst of an universal carnage, escaped untouched ? And can we imagine that his enemies had less inclination to destroy him than to kill his soldiers ? Or, are we to ascribe his preservation to the special protection of God ? Surely nothing but infidelity,

* The following reflections were written, shortly after the account was brought of his Prussian Majesty's defeat by the Russians, and when many were of opinion that the war in Germany would soon be concluded.

delity, and infidelity of the most monstrous and criminal kind, can deny the latter; and the former is repugnant to common sense. Has then the Deity hitherto protected him with his friendly arm? and shall "not his eyes be ever upon the "righteous, and his ears open unto their "prayers?"

But that the war will be continued appears probable from what is already past. For who could have imagined that the king of Prussia, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, would have failed to bring the queen of Hungary to reason, at the first instance? He was better prepared, and every view seemed to insure success. Neither could he then think, that the elector of Saxony would have sacrificed his dominions to retard his progress. But, contrary to his expectation, this was the bar in his way, which, though he broke, yet prevented his farther and principal design. Early next campaign he penetrated through Bohemia to its capital, dispersed the Austrian army, and then it was thought the war would soon have an end. But, flushed with success, he was again disappointed, by attacking a superior army in a well fortified camp. Then plunged in a train of misfortunes, he seemed to be entirely lost! But, in his extremity, he was raised out of these difficulties, first by the victory at Rosbach, (which, in his divine ode, he ascribes entirely to the providence of God); and next, by his victory at Lissa, for which he made suitable acknowledgements upon the spot. By these he acquired immortal laurels; which being followed by the defeat of the French in Hanover, matters were at length brought to a nearer equality. The next campaign opened with his irruption into Moravia, and the siege of Olmutz. Then nothing was heard but dismal lamentations from Vienna, as if the conqueror had been

been at their gates. But a sudden reverse of fortune soon happened; his Prussian Majesty was obliged to retreat; his capital was threatened by the Russians, whilst Marshal Daun pressed hard upon one side, the execution-army upon another, and the Swedes upon a fourth. In this dangerous and critical situation, he was a second time given up for lost; but providence interposed. By his victory over the Russians, he was enabled not only to face the Austrian general, but to put him to the terrible dilemma, of either fighting him upon equal terms, or to repass the mountains of Bohemia, with the certain loss of the greatest part of his army. Again, a reverse of fortune ensued. In one night Marshal Keith and some of his best generals were slain; his army put into confusion, and with great difficulty could he make good his retreat! It was then also imagined that his fate was determined. But, to the astonishment of all, even after this disaster, no less than five sieges are raised, and Marshal Daun obliged to return inglorious to his native country. As to this present campaign, we are told by his enemies, there were so many blows prepared for him, that it would be impossible for him to escape them all. By one accident the whole plan of their operations was disclosed; the consequence of which was the destruction of their magazines, whereby the execution of their sanguinary purposes were retarded, and the Protestant allies seemed to have the advantage. But, alas! Prince Ferdinand, who was to begin the attack upon the French, being repulsed at Francfort, Hesse and Hanover were threatened with a new devastation. How short-sighted are human views? Prince Ferdinand gains a compleat victory over the French, whilst his Prussian Majesty is beat by the Russians! and, as an aggravation of his misfortunes, they are near to his capital, and the Austrians at no great distance.

distance. Thus, notwithstanding Prince Ferdinand's victory over the French, the protestant cause appears again to be entirely desperate! but the wise, the just, and merciful superintendent of human affairs has hitherto supported it; and have we not reason to hope that he will continue to support it still? And do not the above contrasted events point out, as it were with the finger, that providence has been engaged in continuing the war? and are they not also strong prognostics of its further duration *?

We are told in the 10th verse, that, "they who dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwell upon the earth." This verse, when compared with the 7th, plainly shews that the word *earth* or *land*, is here to be understood in its common meaning; and consequently, by the people who "dwell upon the earth," we are to conceive the inhabitants of those popish countries, who were to make war against the witnesses. As to the accomplishment, have not their *Te Deums* sounded loud in our ears? and their subsidies and the free gifts of the clergy have not been wanting.

But then it is foretold, in the 11th and 12th verses, that, "after three days and a half, the spirit of life from God entered into them: And they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them; Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them!" This is strong and significant

* These sentiments were written September 1759, and as the continuance of the war gave countenance to the above reasoning, the author has therefore suffered them to remain in the Essay, without any alteration.

significant language. And as *the people, the kindreds, &c. were not to suffer* the bodies of the witnesses to be buried; so this gave the hopes of a *resurrection*, which, it is here predicted, shall certainly happen.

Proceeding then upon the above explanation, namely, that, by the witnesses in the last days of their testimony, we are to understand the protestant princes in Germany, and their subjects: And that their being killed by the beast, was accomplished when the ban of the empire was issued against them, and their generals, (*which happened on the 21st and 22d days of August 1758,*) we concluded, long before it happened, that, if the preceeding explanation was just, against the 23d day of February 1762, or very soon thereafter, that the protestant princes in Germany would be delivered, by the *visible interposition* of heaven, from that destruction which had been determined against them, by the most dreadful confederacy that had appeared in the history of mankind. And does it not deserve the attention and admiration of every serious observer, that their deliverance from total extinction commenced immediately after three years and an half from the date of the imperial ban? This, as I have already observed, was issued on the 21st and 22d days of August 1758; and the first and *most important breach* of the grand confederacy against the king of Prussia and his allies, was made public by the late Emperor of Russia, when he ordered a copy of the following declaration to be delivered to the Imperial, French, and Swedish ministers, that "he inclined
"to procure peace to his empire, and to contribute,
"as much as might be in his power, to the re-esta-
"blishment of it throughout all Europe; and that,
"in order to this, he was ready to make a sacrifice
"of the conquests made by the arms of Russia." This declaration was dated at Petersburg, Fe-

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bruary

bruary 23. 1762, precisely three years and an half, *to a very day*, after all the protestant allies in Germany had been laid under the ban of the empire. Here let us stop a little, and reflect, that, not long before this memorable event, his Prussian Majesty, (the head of the protestant allies), was reduced to the greatest extremity of danger and distress. He seemed to be devoted to certain destruction. Many of his best troops had either been destroyed or made prisoners. Schweidnitz, his strongest fortress in Silesia, and the *very key* to his dominions, was taken by the Austrians on the 14th of the preceding October; and Colberg, his greatest bulwark against the Russians, had been surrendered to them on the 17th of the following December. By these *decisive blows*, a wide door was fully opened to the one part by land, and the other by sea, for pouring forth their numerous legions into the heart of his country; and, which seemed to crown all his misfortunes, the two empresses, as, if they had been absolutely sure of a total conquest of his dominions, had obliged his subjects, where-ever their arms prevailed, in Pomerania, Russia, and Silesia, to swear allegiance to them. But, when the fatal and finishing blow was ready to be given, the just, the wise, and powerful Governor of the universe interposed, and, by one stroke, namely, the death of his implacable enemy the late Czarina, disconcerted all their cruel and ambitious schemes. This happened only nineteen days after the surrender of Colberg. And it must be allowed, what virtues soever this princess might have possessed, yet since, in the last part of her reign, she was wholly under the influence of the popish league, that her death was a most critical and favourable event to the protestant interest, and cause of public liberty; especially when we reflect, that her successor, the late unfortunate emperor of Russia, made the above declaration in less than seven

ven weeks after her death; and that this was soon thereafter confirmed by the present empress, in her recalling the Russian troops, and restoring to the king of Prussia all her conquests. Then, and not till then, was the danger of *utter extinction* removed; and the just hopes of a resurrection or restoration to their former state revived in the minds of the protestant allies. And was not the superintending providence of God clearly manifested in effecting this? not only in the very critical death of the late empress Russia, but in raising to the throne, at that most dangerous crisis, a prince inflamed with an almost enthusiastical zeal for the king of Prussia; and still more, in the wonderful change upon the mind and councils of the present empress, who, at first appeared fully determined to push the war against his Prussian Majesty with the utmost vigor and animosity; and yet, soon thereafter, most surprizingly altered the whole plan of her resolutions and conduct towards him; so that, from being an inflamed enemy, she became his sincere friend, and hath continued so for several years. Have we not then reason to acknowledge, that, as the "hearts of kings" and princes are in the hands of the Lord, and he "turns them as the rivers of water whithersoever he pleases," that this amazing change in her mind and conduct was greatly, if not solely, owing to an over-ruling providence and supernatural influence? Thus have I endeavoured to show how "the spirit of life from God entered into the witnesses:" And, with what justness we may conceive, that this part of the prophecy had a proper accomplishment in the almost miraculous deliverance of the protestant allies in Germany, from the evident danger of utter destruction.

Next follows: "And they stood upon their feet," that is, according to the literal sense of a resurrection, they recovered the power of acting as formerly;

iv; and, when applied to the reformed princes in Germany, it may with great propriety be said, that it was fulfilled, when by the late peace the ban of the empire was reversed, and these princes were restored to their former rights, privileges, and dignities. It is added, that, after the resurrection of the witnesses, "great fear fell upon them that saw them;" that is, their enemies would discover such degrees of fear and cowardice, as they had never shown upon any former occasion. And hath not this also been visibly fulfilled in the pusillanimous conduct of the members of the popish league ever since the last peace? Have they not suffered the son of their faithful ally, the late king of Poland, to be ejected from the principality of Courland? Have they not also allowed the posterity of that prince to be excluded from the throne of Poland, and the dissidents in that country to be restored to those privileges, of which they had been long deprived? But, especially, have they not discovered the highest degree of fear and cowardice, in suffering their good friends, the Turks, to be stript of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the Russian fleets to sail by the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy, without making any *public* opposition, or giving them the smallest interruption? Thus, notwithstanding they undoubtedly prompted, if not bribed, the popish confederates in Poland to rebel, and stimulated the Turks to enter into a war with the Russians; yet, after all, they most evidently, and most imprudently have sacrificed both to the meanest of passions, an infamous fear of danger!. Some may endeavour to account for this amazing and long continued inactivity of these hitherto restless enemies of true religion, and the rights of mankind, by alledging the present inability of the French and Spaniards to commence hostilities; but this is easily refuted, by appealing to the present state of their fleets and
armies,

armies, and the vast preparations they have been making for war, ever since the last peace; and which, it is to be feared, Britain ere long may severely feel. The only reason then that can justly be conceived for their astonishing and unprecedented caution, these years past, is this, "that great fear hath fallen upon them," namely, the dread and terror of the protestant arms, and an awful impression of what they suffered by them in the course of the last war.

Hitherto the prediction appears to have been fully accomplished. We come now to consider these remarkable words of the vision which are yet to be fulfilled: "And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying, Come up hither." In the former edition of this essay, I offered the following explication of these words: "That the witnesses, or protestant allies in Germany, by the over-ruling providence of God, and a divine energy communicated to them, having at length gained a manifest superiority over their enemies, would call upon their illustrious chief to take possession of the supreme power or imperial dignity; and that, to the joy of his friends, and confusion of his enemies, he would triumphantly ascend the imperial throne." And this, in the course of things, may perhaps appear to be the true interpretation. However, upon a review of this passage, when I consider that the style of this inspired book is wholly figurative, I am rather now of opinion, that, by a voice from heaven, calling upon the witnesses to come up hither, we ought to conceive this, as an invitation given to them by some person or persons of imperial or supreme dignity, to join with him or them, in abolishing the superstition and spiritual tyranny of papal Rome (against which they had so long testified), and in substituting, and establishing in their place, the

the pure and divine religion of Jesus. If this interpretation is just, and the above calculation with respect to the end of the witnesses testimony well founded, have we not reason to expect, that a public invitation will be given to all the protestant princes in Germany *, either by their supreme head, the present Emperor, or by the Empress of Russia, or by both, to assist in abolishing the impious fabric of popery; and in restoring the profession of christianity throughout the world to its native purity and proper dignity? But, altho' it may be allowed, that, in reading the prophecies, we, by just criticism, and an accurate calculation, may attain to the knowledge of some future events; yet, it must be owned, that time only can perfectly discover the instruments or persons by whom they are to be effected.

We are next told, that, after the above invitation, "The witnesses ascended into heaven in a cloud, and that their enemies beheld them." They ascended into heaven, that is, they were not only exalted to a station superior to their former, but to the highest dignity and authority. By heaven, in the style of this prophecy, that we are to understand the *ne plus ultra* of worldly grandeur, or the highest elevation of temporal dignity, is evident from the note in the beginning of sect. II. chapter I. And that this language was well understood by the Jews, appears from what our Saviour says concerning the spiritual privileges of Capernaum, that, in these respects, it was exalted unto heaven. But that which more clearly shews the justness of the above interpretation is the account which the prophet Isaiah gives of the proud purpose of the king of Babylon, Isaiah, chapter 14th
verse

* N. B. The kings of Britain and Denmark are princes of the empire.

verse 13. "Thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven:" And this is explained by the following bold figures of speech: "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God." The prophet evidently signifying by this last expression, that, when he had declared the king of Babylon's intention, in the preceding words, to "ascend into heaven," he thereby meant to inform us, that this prince, not satisfied with the exercise of an absolute dominion over his own subjects, aspired to a supremacy over those princes who were higher in dignity than himself. As then the ascent of the witnesses into heaven plainly signifies their elevation to a higher state of dignity than their former, and also their rising to a pre-eminence above their enemies; so the *vehicle* by which the witnesses are represented to ascend seems to point out, that this pre-eminence will be obtained by the visible agency of divine providence; and that it will be accompanied with victory and triumph; for, it is said, "they ascended into heaven in a cloud." Now, a cloud, in scripture-language, is evidently a symbol, both of the divine presence and protection, and also of victory and conquest. Thus, in the 104th Psalm, 3d verse, God is said to make "the clouds his chariot;" and, when he led the Israelites through the Red sea, and the wilderness of Arabia, to give them the possession of the land of Canaan, and a complete victory over his and their enemies, he marched before them "in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night." Thus also, when the prophet Daniel, (Daniel chapter 7. verse 13. 14.) "saw, in the night-visions, the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of days, to receive from him dominion, and glory, and an everlasting kingdom, over all people, nations, and languages:" He beheld him approaching the Eternal, "with the clouds of heaven." And thus our Saviour,

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(Matth. chapter 24. verse 30.) represents his awful and solemn appearance to judge and punish his enemies, by his "coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." And, to mention no more passages to this purpose, the evangelist Luke, in the 1. chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, verse 9. tells us, that when our blessed Lord ascended on high, and led captivity captive, that a cloud received him out of the sight of the disciples. And therefore, upon the whole, we may justly conclude, that the victory and triumph of the witnesses over their enemies will either precede, or quickly succeed to their exaltation. It is added, "their enemies beheld," or contemplated them; that is, they beheld their elevation with grief and astonishment.

Verse 13. "And the same hour there was a great earthquake," (or, according to the literal translation, there was a great shake or concussion,) "and the tenth part of the city fell; and, in the earthquake, were slain of men 7000; and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven."

Here we are to consider, in the

1st Place, what is meant by an earthquake; 2dly, By the *Δεκάτην της πόλεως*, here translated, the "tenth part of the city." And, lastly, what is to be understood by the slaying of 7000 men. That an earthquake signifies, in the prophecies, a revolution in the political government of a state or kingdom, by the overthrow of the former system, is plain from Haggai, chapter 2. and 21st verse, where God threatens "to shake the heavens and the earth;" and this is explained in the 22d verse, by these words: "I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen;" thereby signifying, that, before the restoration

floration of the Jews, the principal governments under which they shall then live, will be entirely subverted. Thus also, when God denounced the destruction of the empire of Babylon, by the prophet Isaiah, (chapt. 13th, verse 13.) he expressed himself in the very same manner: "I will, said he, "shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out "of her place." This figure then applied to papal Rome, that "great city which reigns over the kings "of the earth," (as it is expressed, Rev. chap. 17. verse 18.), portends the utter abolishment of its authority wherever this earthquake shall prevail; and this is confirmed by the 6th chapter of the Revelation and 12th verse, where, by the same figure and word, is foretold the exaltation of Constantine to the imperial dignity, in the place of the heathen Cæsars, and the establishment of the christian religion in room of the heathen idolatry*.

The next thing to be considered is the *δικατορ της πολιως*, which our translators have rendered, "The "tenth part of the city," supposing the word *μικρος*, (which signifies *part*), the proper supplement to complete the apostle's meaning. If we shall thus understand it, then we must conclude, that only a tenth part of the papal empire shall fall or be overthrown by this earthquake or spiritual revolution; or that, by it a tenth part of the kingdoms under the papal jurisdiction shall be dismembered from it. If this is the true interpretation, then it is probable, that either the house of Austria, and the spiritual electorates in Germany, shall fall by the arms of the protestant princes in that empire, and of their allies, (as I formerly conjectured), or that the present emperor shall join with them in renouncing the authority of the pope, and in purging his own hereditary

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* See Med. comment. Apocalyp. p. 33. 34. and Newton's dissertations on the prophecies, vol. 3d. page 57. &c.

ditary dominions, and those of the spiritual electors, from the superstitions and idolatries of the church of Rome, as the first step towards an universal reformation. And, by a gross calculation, to such who will be at pains to make it, it will appear, that the Austrian dominions, and the ecclesiastical electorates, are much about the tenth part of the papal empire.

Others again, by *δυνατοι της πολιως*, understand the decarchy of the city, or the spiritual empire of Rome over the ten kings, and conclude that it will be totally subverted by the earthquake here mentioned. Philip Nicolaus, an acute and learned divine of the Augsбург confession, was the author of this interpretation. The argument which he used in support of it, was taken from Revelation chapter 17th, verses 16th, 17th, where it is foretold, that "God " would put in the hearts of the ten kings to fulfill " his will and to agree, and give their kingdoms to " the beast untill the words of God shall be fulfilled;" but that then they will "hate the whore, " and make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat " her flesh, and burn her with fire:" But, besides this argument advanced by him, there are two others which have appeared to me, in reading this prophecy, to be very favourable to his general plan of explanation.

1st, Since it is evident from the 2d and 3d verses of this 11th chapter, that the Gentiles, or the idolatrous church of Rome, was to oppress the true church of God for the space of 1260 years, and that the witnesses, or members of that true church, were to continue to testify in sackcloth against these idolatrous oppressors for the very same space of time; and consequently were to be contemporary with them in their rise, continuance, and end; it must therefore follow, that, when the witnesses shall finish their testimony, the overthrow of papal power

power shall then happen, or be very nigh. But since the earthquake is mentioned in the 13th verse, as an event that will happen about the time of the ascent of the witnesses recorded in the 12th verse, or very soon thereafter; and since it must be allowed that they will lay aside their sackcloth, or finish their mournful testimony, before they shall ascend into heaven in a cloud; we must therefore conclude, that, by this earthquake, and fall of the city, either that the total subversion of the papacy is predicted to happen at the time of the ascension of the witnesses, or at least that the papal power shall then suffer such a depression as will be a clear and infallible prelude of its speedy and total overthrow.

2dly, I would observe that when the apostle beheld in vision the seventh angel pouring out the last vial to finish the destruction of papal Rome, and of all the powers of darkness (as this is recorded Rev. chap. xvi, from the 17th verse to the end), he tells us, verse 18th, that there was then *a great earthquake*; and as these are the very words which he uses, in the 13th verse of this chapter, to express that great event which will happen about the time of the ascension of the witnesses; there is therefore some reason to think, that these words, in both places, have a relation to one and the same thing.

But it may be objected, that the above reasoning is inconsistent with the order of the apostle's narration, since he declared that he saw in the vision the ascension of the witnesses, the earthquake and the consequences thereof, not only before he heard the seventh angel sound his trumpet (by which the ruin of papal Rome was to be completed), but also before he was informed of the transition of the *second woe*, mentioned in the 14th verse; and therefore it is natural to conclude, that the ascension of the witnesses, the earthquake, and the im-

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mediate consequences of it, will happen before the transition of the *second woe* or the destruction of the Ottoman empire, and before the final overthrow of the papal government. 2dly, It is objected that the above translation of the word *decatur*, as if it signified a decarchy, or a supreme empire over ten principalities, or governments, is altogether unnatural, and unsupported by any good authority, whereas its simple and constant meaning is the tenth of any thing to which it is said to belong.

But the force of the first objection will be greatly weakened by the following consideration, that in chap. 12. the apostle had first a vision of the exaltation of Constantine to the supreme government of the Roman empire, and also of the *flight of the church into the wilderness*, and the time she was to continue there (as these events are pointed out in the 5th and 6th verses, according to the judicious explication given of them by Mr Mede, Dr Newton, and many others) before he had the representation of that bloody war betwixt Constantine and his heathen adversaries, and of those victories over them which prepared his way to that supreme authority to which the apostle saw him exalted in the first part of the vision.

From which instance it is plain, that the order of events does not always correspond to the order in which the apostle beheld things in the vision.

2dly, That in the same vision he saw an event at one time described more generally, and afterwards the very same event described more particularly in respect to the circumstances which attended it; and also, that, betwixt the general and more particular description of this event, he had represented to him another event which was to happen at a considerable distance of time after it.

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Since then nothing certain can be inferred from the order of the vision to prove, that the triumphant ascension of the witnesses, the earthquake, the fall of the city, and the slaughter that ensued, do not represent the utter destruction of the papacy; let us next consider, upon supposition that this was the grand event typified by the above figures, with what propriety it may be conceived to be represented, and particularly described to the apostle, before any mention was made to him of the transition of the *second woe*, and also before the *seventh angel*, who was to be the grand instrument in effecting the ruin of popery, was introduced. Here, in the

1st Place, we may observe, that, after the Spirit of God had given in the vision a mournful representation to the apostle, of the long-continued oppression of his faithful witnesses, and of their death, and had proceeded to shew him their restoration to life, and their resurrection; that it was then, in all respects, suitable to the infinite goodness of God not to interrupt the apostle's vision of the witnesses, by introducing to his view any thing that was foreign, or which had no immediate relation to their condition, such as the transition of the *second woe*, or the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, until he had gratified the apostle's desires, and abundantly satisfied him with the view of the triumphant exaltation of the witnesses, and their complete victory over their enemies.

2^{dly}, It is very remarkable, that when the *second woe* is mentioned verse 14. this is narrated to the apostle, as a thing *past*, or that it had happened before the events mentioned in the two preceding verses had taken place, or at least before they were accomplished.

3^{dly}, I must observe, that when the seventh angel, the executioner of God's wrath upon spiritual Babylon,

Babylon and all the enemies of true religion, had sounded his trumpet, (as this is recorded in the 15th verse), the apostle was immediately entertained with a congratulatory song and hymn of thanksgiving, for the establishment of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, and his complete victory and triumph over his enemies. No mention is made of any particular judgments then inflicted on the latter, excepting in the last verse, where the apostle tells us in general, that there were "lightnings, voices, thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail." Which may be conceived to be a summary view, and repetition of what the apostle beheld at the triumphant ascension of the witnesses, and the earthquake mentioned in the 13th verse.

Having thus, I imagine, greatly diminished, if not wholly destroyed, the force of the first objection, and shewn, that notwithstanding the order in which things were represented to the apostle in the vision, that we may very properly conceive the ascension of the witnesses, the earthquake, and the immediate consequences thereof, as typical of the establishment of Christ's universal empire, and the ruin of the papacy (these glorious events which will happen under the seventh trumpet) the only material objection to this mode of explanation that now remains to be considered, is the harsh and unnatural translation of the word *δεκάτοι* in making it to signify a decarchy or an empire over ten kingdoms or governments. Here I do acknowledge, that, for any thing I know, *δεκάτοι* is never to be understood in that sense, but is always to be taken for the *tenth* of any thing to which it is said to belong. I therefore much rather incline to favour the translation of the ingenious Mr. Whiston, who acknowledged that *το δεκάτοι* was justly translated the *tenth*; but, instead of supposing

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μειρος, which signifies *part*, to be the proper supplement to complete the sense, he thought that *ἐπιταγμα* or *κελευσμα*, which signify *empire* or *government*, was to be understood as meant by the apostle; and therefore he rendered *το δικοτον της πολως επισι*, the *tenth government*, or *kingdom* belonging to the *city, fell*; namely, in that great earthquake mentioned in the 13th verse, which he supposed would finish the ruin of papal Rome. He was also of opinion, that the kingdom of France was the tenth kingdom or government here pointed at in the vision, and that by its fall the overthrow of the papacy would be perfected. His words are, " Among
 " the ten kingdoms into which the western empire
 " was divided, that of the Franks was the last, both
 " in its rise and establishment, and therefore may be
 " reckoned the *το δικοτον* or tenth government mentioned Rev. xi. 13. verse, and also by way of a distinguishing emphasis, it might be thus pointed
 " out in the prophecy, as it was to be the principal promoter and support of the papal power,
 " was to be established at the same time with it, and
 " of all the ten kingly governments was to be the
 " only one which was to continue until the fall of
 " the papacy * †." By this most ingenious hypothesis

* Mr Whiston's essay on the Revelation, p. 223.

† There seems to be a particular denunciation against the family of Bourbon in the *second command*, where God threatens to punish idolaters even to the third and fourth generation. This was at first threatened against apostate Israelites, who had the advantage of being instructed in the true religion. And if we shall read the history of the idolatrous kings of Israel and Judah, we will find this threatening never failed to be executed. Sometimes it took place upon the very first of the family; often upon the second or third generation. Jehu, on account of his zeal in destroying the worshippers of Baal, was the only person who had the judgment delayed until the utmost limits assigned. Now it is very observable, that the present king of France is the *third* from

thesis of Mr Whiston the grammatical difficulty in the *second* general plan of explanation is fully solved, and thereby it is at least put upon an equal footing with the first. But, as future events only can decide which of them is the true interpretation, so I would gladly hope that, by the above calculation, and its correspondence with the late events

from Henry the *fourth*, who was a protestant, and changed his religion, for no other reason, but that thereby he might establish himself and his posterity upon the throne of France. The case is not parallel betwixt those who all along have been educated in the principles of idolatry, and such who have had the benefit of a protestant education, and for any secular ends have renounced their profession. Against the latter the threatening seems to be directly pointed. And as this command is of perpetual and immutable obligation, so the sanction seems to be of the same nature. That it is really so, some instances might be mentioned of its taking effect upon particular families in our own country. But, lest the specifying of them might be thought inhumane, as if it was adding affliction to the afflicted, and an insult upon misery; therefore these shall be left to the reader's own reflection. Only I cannot pass over that late glaring instance of its accomplishment in the family of Saxony, who are now wholly excluded that throne for which their grandfather basely renounced his religion. His apostacy was indeed greatly aggravated, when we consider that the reformation began in his dominions, that the then elector countenanced and supported it, and, ever since his time, it hath continued to be the public profession of the electorate. For that man then who (the first of his family !) renounced his religion for a temporal crown, became an idolater for sordid gain, and preferred the service of Mammon to the service of God, what excuse can be made ? what apology can be sustained ? Some thoughtless mortals may endeavour to extenuate the crime ; but, in the sight of God and of all good men, it must stand marked with the highest characters of guilt. By it a crown was in a manner entailed upon his son ; but, along with it, the displeasure of an offended God, which hath been visibly manifested against this family ever since their accession to the throne of Poland, and now most signally by their total exclusion from it.

I have been the longer on this note on purpose to shew that religion is too serious a matter to be trifled with, and that it is the height of imprudence to treat it with indifference.

events and present appearances, I have shewn it to be highly probable that the times of perfect elucidation are at no great distance.

Farther, it is predicted by the vision, that, "in this earthquake, 7000 men should be slain." 7000 men are no great number in such an overthrow, but, in the original, it is 7000 names of men ; which expression signifies, that, upon this event, no less than 7000 men of rank and eminence shall be deprived of their dignities. That the word *name* doth signify dignity, appears clearly from the 2d chapter to the Philippians, verse 9. where our Saviour is said to have " a name given him above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow ;" and it bears also the same meaning, Ephesians, chap. 1st, verse 21st, and Hebrews chap. 1st, verse 4.

The question that now occurs is, whether we are to understand the number here mentioned in a precise and limited, or in a more large and indefinite sense. I acknowledge it would have been natural to have conceived it in the precise and limited sense in which it seems to be exhibited to us by the apostle, if the word *seven* had not been frequently used in scripture to denote a very great or indefinite number. For thus it must be understood Lev. xxvi. 24, where God threatens, if the Israelites should persist in their disobedience to him, that he would smite them *seven times*, that is, *many times* ; and also Prov. xxvi. 16. " The sluggard " is said to be " wiser in his own conceit, than seven " men that can render a reason ;" that is, than *any number* of men who can give a reason for their actions, or for their blaming his conduct. Since then it evidently appears from these, and several other passages in scripture that might have been mentioned, that the word *seven* must sometimes be taken for a great number, or in an indefinite sense;

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we must therefore leave the above question to be solved by the events themselves, when they shall happen. Only I must observe, that if we ought to understand the number 7000 precisely in their literal sense, then I am clearly of opinion, that the earthquake and the *δισταὶ τῆς πύλης* should be understood according to the first explication which I gave of them. And, if we consider the vast shoals of clergy in popish countries, and the bigotry of the house of Austria, and of the ecclesiastical electors, we cannot suppose fewer than 7000 dignified priests in their dominions. But if the number 7000 should be conceived in an indefinite sense, as representing many thousands, then Mr Whiston's explanation of the *το δισταὶ* will appear to be the true one. Time only can shew which of them is the just interpretation.

The words which are added, " And the remnant " were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of " heaven," may be very properly applied to any of the above explanations, since their plain meaning must be, that either the rest of the princes and priests of the Roman communion in Germany, *according to the first explication*, or those of other countries, *according to the second*, who had been only spectators of this wonderful revolution, being greatly alarmed and terrified by the fate of their neighbours, and convinced by the signal display of divine Providence in behalf of the reformed religion, would then accede to it, and consent to its universal establishment,

Ver. 14. *The second woe is past, and behold the third woe cometh quickly.*

The Baron of Merchiston, Mr Mede, Sir Isaac, and Dr Newtons, have, with great strength of argument, shewn that the first woe mentioned in the 9th chapter, which begins with the founding of the fifth trumpet, hath a respect to the irruption of

of the Saracens into the Greek empire ; and that the second woe relates to the conquest of that empire by the Turks. To them the reader is referred for instruction. According to their explication of the second woe, it must follow, that, about the time when the witnesses will finish their testimony, the Ottoman empire shall be overthrown. By what power we are not told. Formerly I imagined, that the king of Prussia might be the instrument in effecting this overthrow ; but, as I then observed that this was a pure conjecture, destitute of any authority from the word of God, and only founded upon the striking features of his character, so providence seems now to point out another agent of a perfectly similar character, and who, by her circumstances, is much more qualified to execute this arduous work ; I mean the present Empress of Russia, who, for the justest reasons, seems now to be fully determined to put an end to that empire that was founded in violence, maintained by tyranny, and was promoted by the basest imposture that ever disgraced the history of mankind.

It is further predicted, that, when the second woe is past, " the third woe will come quickly." These two last woes have a plain reference to the two last vials, of which by and by. And, as there will be but a short interval between them, so it is foretold in the two following verses, that they will be immediately succeeded by the happy millennium, " when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever."

C H A P. III.

Of the Effusion of the seven last Vials upon those who had the Mark of the Beast, as recorded in the 16th Chapter of the Revelation.

IT hath been observed in Section I. Chapter II. that the power exercised by the witnesses, in the latter days of their prophecy, respects the effusion of the vials. The baron of Merchiston was indeed of opinion, that the first vial began with the first trumpet, that they were contemporary, and in all respects signified the same thing; and Sir Isaac Newton, who copied after him, blames Mr Mede for not considering them in the same light. But, since the first of those writers fixes the beginning of the trumpets to A. D. 71; and the second, following Mr Mede, supposes more justly, that the trumpets began to sound, when Alaric invaded the empire, about the end of the fourth century; it is therefore plain, from the second verse of this chapter, that the trumpets and vials could not be, in all respects, contemporary. For, by the effusion of the first vial, we are told in the 2d verse, "there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image;" and consequently this and the following vial was not poured out upon the Roman empire, during the reigns of either the heathen or christian Cæsars, as the two first mentioned writers suppose, but under its papal head, who is the principal subject of the prophecy; and, in the 17th chapter and 11th verse, is, by way of eminency, called *the beast*.

Now, as the first vial bears a plain allusion to one
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of the Egyptian plagues, recorded, Exodus 9th chapter, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th verses; so papal Rome is said, Revelation 11th chapter and 8th verse, to be spiritually called Egypt; which passages, thus compared, do not only point out unto us, that the vials were to be poured upon papal Rome, or the spiritual Egypt; but also that these vials or plagues were to be understood, not in a literal, but in a figurative or metaphorical sense.

Taking them then in this sense, we are told, that the first vial was poured out upon the earth, or, (as has been already explained*), the lower ranks or orders of men in the papal empire, who being touched by this celestial fire, and thereby animated with fervent zeal for the glory of God, did "smite" the worshippers of the beast," with a furious madness, or a painful, nauseous, and incurable ulcer.

This seems pretty plainly to have been accomplished in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, when the common people in Piedmont, France, Italy, Germany, and England, called by the name of the Albigenes, Waldenses, Hussites, and Wickliffites, openly renounced the authority of the church of Rome, calling Rome the apocalyptic Babylon, and the Pope antichrist: Which enraged the Pope and his followers to such a degree of fury, that croisades were published, armies levied, and these faithful witnesses persecuted with fire and sword, and the most inhuman cruelties: But in vain; for the fore was now become so malignant and incurable, that, the more these were persecuted, it increased the more.

And, if we shall attend to the papal history, we will find that the first vial cannot, with any propriety, be fixed to another period. For, though there were some in every age, who testified against the

* See note on p. 30.

the idolatry of the church of Rome; yet, it is evident, till these very times, the opposition to it had neither been so general, nor so successful, nor chiefly supported by the common people.

The *second vial* was to be poured out upon the *sea*, which, (as hath been already observed), doth signify* the political state of Rome, comprehending in it, as in the 17th chapter and 15th verse, "peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues," that is, a great many different kingdoms and provinces. In the 3d verse, we are told, that, by pouring out of this vial upon the sea, "it became as the blood of a dead man, and that every soul died in the sea." By this event we are not to imagine, that the whole political system of Rome was to be entirely destroyed; for we find, that it still subsisted under all the following plagues, until the seventh or last. But, as in Matthew, 27th chapter and 44th verse, the thieves who were crucified with our Saviour, are said to revile him, though the evangelist Luke tells us, that only one of them was guilty of this indecency; so here also, by an ordinary figure, a considerable part is put for the whole; and, it is plain from the above observation, that we must understand the prediction in this manner.

The pouring out of this vial seems to respect the times of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and other illustrious reformers, when not only many of the vulgar, but also whole kingdoms, nations, cities, and provinces separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome. By which separation a great part of the papal sea or empire, like a member cut off from a human body, and separated from its vital fountain the heart, "became as the blood of a dead man;" so that the Papalins could no more live nor breathe therein.

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* See the note in the beginning of § 3, chap. 1.

The third vial was to be poured out upon the "fountains and rivers of waters." Now, as fountains and rivers derive their origin from the sea, by the exhalation of its vapors, and terminate in it; so, if we consult the following passages of scripture, Deuteronomy 33d chapter and 28th verse, Hosea 13th chapter and 15th verse, Jeremiah 46th chapter 7th and 8th verses, Ezekiel 30th chapter and 12th verse, we shall find, that, according to the prophetic stile, fountains and rivers, do signify the ministers or great men of a state, who, as they derive their power and authority from it, so they direct their councils and actions for the advancement of its interest*. And thus, by the fountains and rivers of water belonging to the papal sea, we are to understand the chief promoters of its interest, whether laics or ecclesiastics. Now, in the 6th verse, we are told, that, by the pouring out of this vial, the law of retaliation would be executed upon the worshippers of the beast, that, "as they had shed the blood of saints, and prophets, blood would be given them to drink." And this would seem to be a key to the whole.

Mr Mede was of opinion, that this vial was poured out, when, in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, penal laws were made against Jesuits, and other popish priests and emissaries, whereby several

* This is strongly confirmed by 5th chapter of Proverbs 16th, 17th, and 18th verses, "Let thy fountains be dispersed abroad, and rivers of waters in the streets: Let them be only thine own, and not strangers with thee: Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth, &c." which being an exhortation of Solomon to his son, is, as if he had said, My son, abstain from unlawful embraces, and let the marriage-bed satisfy thee; then mayest thou expect a numerous issue, and that thy children shall be public blessings to the state, and the best promoters of their father's government.

veral of them (which never happened before) suffered death as the just reward of their impious and sanguinary purposes. But they were not the only sufferers at this time. The Spaniards, who were much more formidable enemies, underwent a more dreadful and severer punishment. These, supported by a papal bull, and greedily thirsting after protestant blood, had fully resolved to reduce this island into a state of absolute subjection to the Pope. But how awful was their overthrow, in that memorable year 1588 ! Then indeed " blood was given them to drink ;" and, (as Mr Mede observes) the omnipotent hand of God presented this vial of his wrath for many years together ; whilst a train of dismal calamities, both by sea and land, were poured out upon them by the English and Dutch ; from which, to this very day, they are not recovered.

The fourth vial, we are told, in the 8th verse, was to be " poured out upon the sun, and power " was given to the angel," who had the charge of this service, " to scorch men with fire."

We have already observed, that, according to the language of the Hebrews, and also of the Holy Spirit, heaven doth signify the higher orders of men, and consequently the earth, the lower. Now as, in the natural heavens, there are many stars of different magnitudes ; so also, in analogy to these, there are in the papal heavens, not only princes, dukes, and kings, but also great luminaries, like to the sun and moon, and amongst these the imperial dignity (which hath so long continued in the house of Austria) doth shine with the brightest lustre *.

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* The reader may frequently observe, both in the Old and New Testament, that it is very usual for the prophets, to represent the kings, and the various orders of magistrates among the Jews, by the celestial luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars, which language must then have been well understood.

Mr Mede tells us, that, long before he published his commentary, he was fully persuaded, that the fourth vial was to be poured out upon this imperial family; and, when he published it (which was A. D. 1632) he was as fully convinced, that this prophecy was then fulfilling, namely, at the time, when that immortal hero, Gustavus Adolphus, opposed the ambitious and cruel designs of the emperor, and delivered the protestant princes in the empire from the chains which were forging for them. And though that glorious prince did not live to see his purposes completed; yet God prospered them in such a manner, as, upon the conclusion of that long war, the protestant states were fully established in their privileges civil and religious. Ever since, the power of Austria hath been so much reduced, that, incapable as formerly to support and cherish the popish interest, it has often been obliged, not only to the protestant princes in Germany, but also to Britain and Holland, for its own defence, against the ambitious schemes of France.

The fifth vial, as in the 10th verse, was to be poured out upon the "seat of the beast;" that is, upon the principal supporters of papal government.

For, as a throne, or chair of state, supports a prince or law-giver, whilst he either publishes his laws, or performs any solemn act of government; so it fitly represents the chief maintainers or upholders of his authority. Thus we must understand these expressions, 89th Psalm and 44th verse, "Thou hast cast down his throne to the ground;" and Haggai, 2d chapter and 22d verse, "I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms," as signifying that the principal pillars or supporters of these kingdoms were to be overthrown.

Since then it would appear from the above, that the first four vials have been poured out, and that

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the judicious Mr Mede was so fully convinced, that the effusion of the fourth vial happened, when Gustavus Adolphus humbled the exorbitant power of the Austrian family; and also that the fifth vial would be at no great distance from the time when the witnesses should finish their testimony; have we not then reason to conclude, that the fifth vial was poured out during the course of the last war? For as, since the days of Gustavus Adolphus, the popish interest had received no considerable stroke until then; and as the principal parties, who began and carried on the war, were the two greatest papal powers in Europe, the houses of Austria and Bourbon; so that vial seemed to have been remarkably poured out upon the latter, in the astonishing success of our king's arms against that perfidious family, both by sea and land, in Germany, Africa, America, and in both the Indies; and in the amazing victories gained by our illustrious ally the king of Prussia.

Farther, since the angels of the seven churches, mentioned Revelation 2d and 3d chapters, do signify the bishops or presbyters of these churches; and the four angels mentioned in the 9th chapter, (according to the opinion of the most judicious commentators) do signify the four Turkish kings, or generals, who first invaded the Greek empire; therefore, by the angels who were to pour out the seven last vials, we are not to understand purely spiritual beings, but human instruments; and consequently, according to the former explication, Peter Waldo, or Vaud, (who publicly exposed the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome in the twelfth century, and was the head or leader of the people called by the name of *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*) may be justly reckoned the angel who poured out

out the first vial upon them that had "received the mark of the beast;" Luther who poured out the second; Queen Elizabeth, the third; Gustavus Adolphus, the fourth; and our late illustrious Sovereign, or rather the king of Prussia, may be conceived the fifth.

For, if we shall take a view of the continental war, and reflect upon the astonishing victories gained by the king of Prussia and his allies, and the noble stand which he made against a most powerful and terrible confederacy; can we, after all this, imagine, that the spirit of God, who hath in the Apocalypse so distinctly (to an observing mind) predicted other things, some of them perhaps less, surely none of them more interesting; can we, I say, imagine, that he would have wholly overlooked such extraordinary and marvellous events, which have been so visibly brought about by his over-ruling providence?

Seeing then there is at least a probability, that the end of the witnesses testimony is at no great distance, and that the vial hath been poured out upon the seat of the beast, should not these considerations engage every true protestant cheerfully to exert himself, according to his influence and ability, to promote the cause of religion and liberty, against the enemies of both? This we ought certainly to do, not only by recommending to the esteem of each other, the public, wise, vigorous, and salutary measures, pursued by our late sovereign, (who was truly the father of his subjects), by both houses of parliament, and the worthy ministers of state *, but also by stirring up all, in their different stations, to a sincere reformation of heart

* A late nameless author of a pamphlet, intitled, *Considerations*

heart and life, and to fervent prayer for the friendly aid of that God, who "ruleth in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth," and whose throne is founded in truth, mercy, and faithfulness.

Mean time, we are not to think, that, by the effusion of this vial, the papal government was to be entirely overthrown, but only that thenceforth it should be deprived of its splendor and glory, inasmuch, that (as in the text) "the kingdom of the beast should be full of darkness," and the subjects thereof should "gnow their tongues with pain," but obstinately persisting in their impenitence, would proceed to further acts of blasphemy.

The sixth vial, we are told, is to be poured out upon the great river Euphrates, or upon that empire to which the territories lying upon that river do belong. Thus, in Isaiah 8th chapter, 7th and 8th verses, it is predicted, that "the Lord would
"bring

tious on the present German war, has endeavoured, with all the sophistry of a Jesuit, to run down these truly excellent measures; but, as he does not admit into his system the superintending providence of that God, who has shewn in the most visible manner, through the whole course of the last war, that he can "save by few as well as by many;" and as he has paid no regard to the laws of justice, which oblige us to assist our allies; nor to the common dictates of humanity, which demand from us the protection of the weak and injured; so his performance has been justly treated with contempt by the councils of this nation. And no wonder, since it is plainly calculated for promoting the French interests, by allowing them, without controul, to extend their conquests upon the continent of Europe; and is, in all respects, more suited to the purposes of mechanical atheists, who deny a providence, and have no regard to the principles of religion and virtue, than for the direction of that state which has been so long the patron of public liberty, and the strongest bulwark of the reformation.

" bring upon Damascus and Samaria, the waters
 " of the river strong and many ;" and these are
 immediately explained to be " the king of Assy-
 ria with all his glory," or numerous armies ;
 And Jeremiah 47th chapter, 2d verse, " Behold,
 " saith the Lord, waters rise up out of the north,"
 (meaning the Babylonians who inhabited the
 banks of the Euphrates); " and shall be an overflow-
 " ing flood, and shall overflow the land." As
 therefore, in these passages, the river Euphrates
 plainly typifies the Assyrian and Babylonian em-
 pires, so this river must here signify, that empire
 whose dominions extend over the provinces upon
 the Euphrates. And what can this be but the Ot-
 toman empire ? especially if we consider, that, from
 its origin, down to the present times, the Turks
 have generally had the possession of these coun-
 tries.

Now this empire is said to be dried up by the
 sixth vial, or its power exhausted, which is the
 same thing with its being overthrown. And, as
 it has been already observed, Chap. II. Sect. II. that
 there is a remarkable coincidence between the fi-
 nishing of the witnesses testimony, and the transi-
 tion of the second woe, so is it not very remark-
 able, that the vial to be poured out upon the Eu-
 phrates should immediately succeed to that which
 was to be poured out upon the seat of the beast,
 and that there should be almost no interval of time
 betwixt the conclusion of the second woe, and the
 beginning of the third woe, or betwixt that vial
 that was to be poured out upon the Euphrates,
 and that vial that was to perfect the ruin of pa-
 pal Rome ?

By the pouring out of the sixth vial, it is pre-
 dicted, that the " way of the kings of the East shall
 " be prepared." Now, as Judea was eastward both
 of Rome, which is the principal subject of the pro-
 phesy,

phesy, and of Patmos, where the apostle had the vision; by the "kings of the east," we may then understand the leaders or principal men of the Jews, who, by this extraordinary event, shall have the way paved to their embracing the Christian faith, and to their return unto their native country.

In confirmation of this opinion, Mr Mede observes, that, if the Jews shall not be converted under this vial, it must follow, that, along with the other enemies of our Saviour, (of whom they make a considerable part at present), they shall be destroyed by the last vial: But that this is contrary to many scripture-prophecies, and particularly to that plain prediction of the apostle in the 11th chapter of the Hebrews. And farther, he observes, that the prophecy, Isaiah 11th chapter, 15th and 16th verses, seems plainly to relate to the event here predicted: "And the Lord (saith the prophet) shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind, &c." Or, as Mr Mede renders it, "As the Lord destroyed the tongue of the Egyptian sea, so, with his mighty wind, shall he shake his hand over the river, (in the Targum, it is the river Euphrates), and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry shod: And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, (therefore the river signifies the Euphrates), like as it was to Israel, in the day that it came out of the land of Egypt."

Since then I have already shewn it to be highly probable that the fifth vial hath been already poured out upon "the seat of the beast," and that the sixth angel is now pouring out his vial upon the Ottoman empire, and that the return of the Jews to their native country, and their conversion to the Christian faith, is to be expected as a consequence of the destruction of that empire: May we not be allowed to entertain the hope, that, if the

present Empress of Russia shall be honoured to complete its overthrow, that she may give an invitation to the Jews to take possession of their ancient country. And if, to this singular favour, she shall add another still greatly superior, namely, the granting a proper encouragement to men of true piety, learning, and integrity, to lay before them clear and distinct completions of scriptural prophecies, and the genuine doctrines and precepts of Christianity, as they are contained in the original sacred volumes, (the only infallible rule of faith and practice): May we not have reason to think, that, an uncommon effusion of divine grace concurring with the above, their long-wished-for conversion may thereby be effected; and, as their enmity to Christianity hath hitherto been extreme, that their zeal for its propagation and success shall thenceforward be proportionally manifested?

But, as these suppositions are purely conjectural, and consequently may never be realized, so to some they may appear extremely romantic. However, if we shall seriously attend to the character and actions of the Empress of Russia, and to the probabilities I have already advanced of the speedy approach of these grand events, I am persuaded the above suppositions will no longer appear in a ludicrous view. For, when we consider that amazing extent of understanding, and that unwearied application to business which this great princess hath discovered these years past; when we reflect, that under her government the arts and sciences have flourished, that merit hath every where been sought for and rewarded, order and discipline maintained, a body of laws framed for securing the lives and properties of her subjects, true religion and freedom of enquiry patronized and defended, and the honour of her crown nobly asserted and vindicated: I say, when we consider these

these things, is it not natural to expect something very grand and extraordinary from such an uncommon personage, at a time so very critical and interesting?

That the conversion of the Jews is at no great distance, may farther appear to be probable, if we consider that one great, if not the principal design of God, in granting special religious privileges to the posterity of Abraham, was not merely for their own benefit, but for the advantage of others; namely, that they might be standing remembrancers to mankind, of his being, attributes, and presiding providence, and witnesses for him against the superstition and idolatry of a world "lying in wickedness." Thus they were visibly the instruments of providence, in spreading the knowledge and worship of the "one, living, and true God," amongst the Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, by means of their various dispersions throughout their kingdoms and empires. Of them also sprung our Lord according to the flesh; and they were Jews who were first employed in propagating christianity. May we not then conclude from analogy, that, after so long a night of darkness and idolatry, which hath overspread the greatest part of the christian world, they shall be again employed to enlighten mankind, and to publish the gospel in its native purity and simplicity? And, since they have now continued as long without the pale of God's church, as their forefathers in any number enjoyed the privileges thereof, that this national punishment shall be soon withdrawn? Certainly their continuing so long a distinct, unmixed people, (notwithstanding their various dispersions), is intended by providence for some great and good design: And, if we consider their immense riches, their acquaintance with the manners, languages, and customs of so many nations; do they not appear the

the fittest instruments, for accomplishing the most extensive and glorious schemes?

If their long continued infidelity shall be objected, we ought to remember that "nothing is impossible for God." Besides, the prejudices of education, in certain circumstances, may, for any thing we know, have been altogether invincible. That the idolatry of the papists, and the wicked lives of many protestants, have hitherto been great stumbling blocks in their way, is too evident to be denied. But, supposing them placed in different circumstances, these obstacles removed, and a singular effusion of the Holy Spirit granted, how soon might a happy change ensue? Surely there is nothing unnatural in all this. Is not often a dark night quickly followed by clear day? And does not the springing of the earth instantly succeed to the cold and torpid winter?

That the Jews shall again return to their native country, and be put in possession not only of the land of Canaan, but also of the adjacent territories, seems to be pretty clear from a great many predictions in the Old Testament; but especially from Isaiah 11th chapter, Amos 9th chapter 11th and 12th verses, &c. and the prophecy of Obadiah, from the 17th verse to the end. And, since they received such extensive privileges and immunities from a Cyrus and Alexander, is it not probable, that, upon their conversion and final return, they may receive as great, if not much greater from the piety and generosity of christian princes?

The seventh and last vial is to be poured out upon the air, that is, upon Satan, who is called the "prince of the power of the air." For, as the air or atmosphere surrounds, and, in a manner, animates every living thing upon the earth; even so Satan embraces and animates, not only the worshippers of the beast, but also the whole enemies of Christ

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throughout the world: And as from him the beast derived his original; so, upon his power and conduct will the last fortunes of the beast depend.

Hence we are told, in the 13th and 14th verses, that the dragon, or Satan, in this last struggle for the continuance of his kingdom, will not only employ his deputies, the beast and the false prophet, to assemble his general army, but also, that he shall particularly exert himself in "gathering together" the kings of the earth, and of the whole world;" upon many of whom, neither the authority of the beast, nor perhaps a representation of common danger, would otherwise have had any manner of influence. These are said in the 16th verse, to be collected into a place, called in the "Hebrew tongue, "Armageddon;" which word, according to Jerom, signifies the *mountain of the gospel*. This seems to point out that this last effort shall be made upon the territories of the true church, then consisting both of the converted Jews, and others in Asia, and of the reformed states and kingdoms in Europe*.

With respect to the Jews; as their spiritual resurrection, and final return to their antient country, is clearly predicted in the 36th and 37th chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy; so, in the two following chapters, it is foretold, that, after their return and settlement, a general attack shall be made upon them, or (which is the same thing) upon that government to which they may then be subject, by the posterity of Magog, Mesech, and Tubal, from
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* Thus the christian church, in the latter days, in allusion to the Jewish temple which was built upon Mount Moriah, is called the "Mountain of the Lord;" Isaiah 2d chapter, 2d and 3d verses. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow into it," &c. And then follows, in the 3d verse, "They shall beat their swords into plow shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up their sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

the north parts, (probably the Tartars, the progeny of the above mentioned sons of Japheth), and also by Persia, Ethiopia, and Lybia; who may possibly represent these Mahometan nations, who shall not be subdued by the "drying up of the river Euphrates."

As to the reformed kingdoms and states in Europe, that about this time also, a general assault shall be made on them by the popish powers, appears pretty plainly from the activity of the beast and false prophet, (as in the 14th verse), in "assembling the kings of the earth to this great, and decisive battle." For it cannot be supposed, that, whilst they shall so vigorously exert themselves in stirring up others, nothing at all shall be done by themselves.

But, though this last push against the reformed churches in Asia and Europe, shall be made with all the power and malice of Satan and his votaries; yet the whole design will prove unsuccessful, and shall at length terminate in the final overthrow of all the powers of darkness. For, it is predicted, in the 39th chapter of Ezekiel, that God will destroy the numerous enemies of the Jews, after a manner altogether astonishing and extraordinary. And, in the 14th verse of this chapter, this last battle is called the "great day of God Almighty;" whereby is intimated, that God will, upon this occasion, signally manifest the glory of his power and justice, in the punishment of his enemies: And, (after the effusion of the seventh vial), we are told, in the 18th verse, "that there was a great earthquake, such as" "was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty" "an earthquake and so great:" And, in the 19th verse, "that the great city was divided into three" "parts, and the cities of the nations" (that is of the heathen kingdoms) "fell, and great Babylon came" "in remembrance before God, to give unto her the" "cup

“cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath:” And then it is added, in the 20th verse, “every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.”

Thus, as in the 6th chapter and 14th verse, it is foretold, that, by the elevation of Constantine, and the christian princes his successors, to the imperial dignity “every mountain and island should be moved out of their places;” that is, all that heathen idolatry which had formerly made so grand an appearance in the Roman Sea or empire, should then be abolished*; so here also it is predicted, that, by this last and greatest revolution, the whole frame of papal idolatry, and of Satan’s empire in the world, shall be entirely subverted, so that not so much as a trace thereof shall be left behind.

But this is still more evident from the 19th chapter, which, as would appear from the 1st verse, begins with a new vision. In the 2d and 3d verses, the judgment of the great whore is mentioned, which seems to be contemporary with the fifth vial poured out upon the “seat of the beast;” thereafter, in the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses, we have an account of the marriage of the lamb’s wife, which (according to Dr Whitby, Mr Mede, and other judicious commentators) doth signify the conversion of the Jews; and seems to coincide with the sixth vial, or the vial by which the “Euphrates was to be dried up.” And, after this event of the Jewish conversion is mentioned, follow these remarkable words: “And I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him is called Faithful and True; and in righteousness doth he judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns, and he had a name written which no man knew but himself, and he was clothed in a vesture dipt in blood, and his name

* Vide Med. Comm. in locum, and Newton’s Dissertations, vol. 3.

name is called the word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen clean and white. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, and he treadeth the wine press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written; King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

By this description our Lord is clearly pointed out, and the mighty power which he will display, in routing Satan and his armies, mentioned in the 16th chapter. The instrument, by whom this glorious achievement shall be performed, is said in the 17th verse, to be an "angel standing in the sun"; that is, (as the figure was already explained), one who shall then be possessed of an imperial crown; and who is represented, as inviting "all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven;" that is, all * generals and foldiers under him, "to gather themselves together unto the supper of the great God, that they might eat the flesh of kings," &c. that is, that they might divide their kingdoms and wealth amongst them.

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* Thus it is predicted, Jeremiah 34th chapter and 20th verse, that the "dead bodies of the princes of Judah" should be "meat unto the fowls of heaven." This is explained in the 21st verse, by these words; "and Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army." And, Ezekiel 2,th chapter and 5th verse, we have this prediction concerning Pharaoh king of Egypt, "I have given thee for meat unto the beasts of the field, and to the fowls of heaven:" which is explained thus, in the 19th verse: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and it shall be wages for his army."

In the 19th verse, we are told, that "the apostle
 " saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their
 " armies gathered together, to make war against
 " him that sat on the horse, and against his army."
 This exactly coincides with the vision in the 16th
 chapter and 14th verse, "where we had an account
 of the warlike preparations made by Satan, imme-
 diately before the effusion of the last vial; the con-
 sequences of which are here plainly foretold, by
 these words, in the 20th and 21st verses; "And the
 " beast was taken, and with him the false prophet,
 " that wrought miracles before him, with which he
 " deceived them that had received the mark of
 " the beast, and them that worshipped his image.
 " These both were cast alive into a lake of fire,
 " burning with brimstone; and the remnant were
 " slain with the sword of him that sat upon the
 " horse, which sword proceedeth out of his
 " mouth:" That is, the rest which had joined
 in league with the beast and false prophet,
 were now subdued, by our Lord's inflicting the
 judgment upon them which he had predicted;
 "and all the fowls were filled with their flesh,"
 their territories being divided amongst the instru-
 ments of his justice.

By this victory over the enemies of Christ, the
 last vial shall be fully poured out. And since by
 all the former grand revolutions, occasioned by
 the victories of the Babylonians, Persians, Greci-
 ans, and Romans, the knowledge of the true God
 was communicated to the most distant provinces of
 their empires, which, otherwise, would have been
 (humanly speaking) impracticable; may we not
 then expect, that by this last and greatest revolu-
 tion, (which shall be so remarkably produced, by
 the over-ruling providence of God, and the vigo-
 rous efforts of the best of men), the genuine prin-
 ciples of our holy religion shall be disseminated to
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the most distant regions of the world; and that the kingdoms thereof shall become the "kingdoms" of our Lord and of his Christ?" Accordingly, in the next chapter, we have an account of the binding of Satan, and of the happy millennium.

Thus it is predicted, 20th chapter and 4th verse, that "the souls of them which were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and had not worshipped the beast, neither had received his mark on their foreheads, they should live and reign with Christ a thousand years." This, in the 5th verse, is said to be the "first resurrection." The meaning of all which seems to be this; that the true church of God, which had always opposed the idolatry of the church of Rome, and on that account was formerly subjected to the most terrible anathemas, sufferings and persecutions; upon the fall of Antichrist, and the conversion of the Jews, (which is said, Romans 11th chapter and 15th verse, "will be to it life from the dead"), shall rise into a flourishing, happy, and glorious state; that Christ shall henceforth maintain a spiritual and undisturbed reign over both Jews and Gentiles, for the space of a thousand years: And, as the Baptist was called Elias, because he came in the spirit and power of Elias, so this may be called the church of the martyrs, since the spirit and purity of the primitive martyrs shall then revive; and also because through much tribulation and manifold dangers they shall enter into this happy state.

It is indeed very surprising that Mr Mede, who has, with vast penetration and judgment, explained the greatest part of the preceding figures, should here adopt the opinion of a literal resurrection *.
But

* This strange mistake not only arose from a foolish regard to the fancies of the Jewish Rabbies, but also from a misapprehension

But, since Dr Whitby, in his learned treatise upon the millennium, has clearly shewn the absurdity of this

hension of the true meaning of the above quoted passage Rev. xx. 4, and of the following 5th and 6th verses, in which we find these words: " But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, on such the second death hath no power." For, having absurdly imagined that they who had been really killed or beheaded for the testimony of Jesus by popish idolaters, were to return to life, and reign with Christ 1000 years, they thought this was fully confirmed by the above 5th verse, where it is said that " the rest of the dead lived not again until the 1000 years were finished," fancying that the rest of the dead were persons that lived in the same times, and were of the same character with the martyrs or witnesses; but, because they had not suffered death for the testimony of Jesus, they thought they would not be raised to life until the end of the 1000 years; the honour of this first literal resurrection (according to them) being only reserved for the martyrs who had underwent death for the cause of Christ. And this opinion, they apprehended, was still more confirmed by the 6th verse, where it is declared, that " Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, on such the second death shall have no power;" concluding it to be evident from these words, that this first resurrection must be a literal one of the martyrs who had already finished their state of trial, and were to be no more subject to sin, nor liable to the danger of eternal punishment on account of it, since it is said, that " on them the second death would have no power."

But the absurdity of this interpretation will abundantly appear, if we shall consider, in the

1st Place, That, since all the rest of the prophetic parts of this book must be understood in a figurative sense, there is the highest reason for us to think that this also ought to be understood in the same manner: And, since all protestant interpreters agree in this, that, by the two witnesses continuing to testify for the space of 1260 days, (as recorded in the 11th chapter) we ought to conceive a sufficient number of men in succession, who were to testify against the abominations of popery for so many years; and since it is probable, that, by the death of the witnesses, their living again, their resurrection, and ascension into heaven, we are to understand their exposure

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this opinion, fully refuted all the objections of the millennarians on this point; and proved that the millennium shall commence after the downfall of

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to the danger of death or extinction in consequence of a judicial sentence passed upon them, their deliverance from the same, their restoration to their former state of safety and security, and their exaltation to such a rank of superiority as to have their enemies subject to their power and authority; so it is most probable that the persons who are said, in the 4th verse of this chapter, to be "beheaded for the *witness* of Jesus," by idolaters, and to "live and reign with Christ 1000 years," are the very same *witnesses* mentioned in the 11th chapter; and that this is a repetition of the same prophecy concerning them, with the addition of the number of years in which they, and persons of their character in succession to each other, would continue to rule over their enemies, or over persons of a different character and profession from themselves.

2dly, Instead of imagining that the *rest of the dead* who were not to live again until the 1000 years were finished, were persons of the same character with the *witnesses*, they ought to have considered them as persons of a quite *different character*, namely to be the *remnant* (mentioned in the 21st verse of the preceding chapter) who *were slain*, that is, the followers of the beast and the false prophet, who, after the destruction of their principals, were to be reduced to a state of subjection, and made liable to *death* or the severest punishments, if they should oppose or rebel against the new religious establishment; These, or persons of their character, were to continue in this state of subjection and obnoxiousness to punishment, until the 1000 years should be finished. And it is very remarkable, that the persons mentioned in the 21st verse of the preceding chapter, and in the 5th verse of this, are marked out to us in the original by the very same words, they being called in both places *οι λειποντες* on purpose (as it would appear) to shew that we were to take them for the very same persons, and that, instead of their being the friends of the witnesses, we were to consider them as enemies, the predecessors, or persons of the same character and principles with Gog and Magog; of whom it is predicted in the 8th verse, that, after the 1000 years are finished, they will attempt to shake off the yoke, and encompass in a hostile manner the camp of the saints. The words in the 5th verse are perfectly applicable to persons of the above character; but by no means to the martyrs. For, upon the absurd supposition that the

papal antichrist, and the conversion of the Jews; and also that there shall be then, an universal peace and plenty, and a great increase of knowledge and righteousness, throughout the whole church of God; to this elaborate, and judicious performance, the reader is therefore referred.

Only we may observe, that, besides the accounts of that happy state given in this and the following chapter, and in many of the prophecies in the Old Testament, quoted and explained by Dr Whitby, there are several omens of its near approach. For do not the almost innumerable inventions of the moderns,

the latter were to be raised to life again after the 1000 years are finished, what a poor reward would this be, nay rather would it not be a very severe punishment to them, to be obliged to behold the dreadful disorders which will then be occasioned by the impious attempts of Gog and Magog?

As to the last objection taken from the declaration in the 6th verse, that "blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, that on them the second death should have no power;" we have the greatest reason to understand it as a form of expression frequently used in scripture, where a part, or a considerable part, is described by the whole. Thus Psal. 84. verse 4. "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will be still praising thee." Psal. 89. ver. 15. "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound; they shall walk, O Lord; in the light of thy countenance." Thus also Matth. xxvii. 44. The thieves, who were crucified with our Saviour, are said to revile him, though the evangelist Luke assures us that only one of them was guilty of this indecency; and, in commenting upon Rev. xvi. 3. I shewed, that when it is said, on the second angel his pouring out the vial "upon the sea, it became as the blood of a dead man;" that by these figures we were to understand not that the whole, but only that a considerable part of the political state of papal Rome typified by the sea, would become dead to it, or would withdraw its allegiance from it.

Thus, by giving a proper attention to this passage, it will appear, that it is perfectly consistent with the explanations of the preceding parts of this prophecy, and absolutely free from the ridiculous absurdities of the ancient millennarians, or of their modern followers *.

* See Dr Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. 3. p. 316. &c. where the arguments for a literal Resurrection of the Martyrs, are argued, and adopted.

ders, and the amazing progress of arts and sciences in the various branches of them, namely, in divinity, philosophy, medicine, agriculture, chymistry, mechanics, &c. do not these, I say, promise a quick maturity? to which, if they shall once be brought, what great, and good, and lasting consequences may be expected? more especially if we consider that many, and perhaps the most useful inventions, have not been the result of genius, but of what we call chance, or; more properly speaking, the effects of divine providence. This one consideration, methinks, is sufficient to raise our hopes, and engage us to conclude, that God, who in these latter times has so visibly favoured the human race, and is almost every year throwing something new and profitable in their way, designs by some other gifts, yet in reserve, to exalt the temporal and spiritual happiness of mankind to a higher pitch than was ever known since the fall of man.

But perhaps it may be said, that the church of God, under the millennial reign, shall either be in a state of trial or not; if not, the members of it cannot properly be the subjects of a future judgment; but that they, as well as the rest of mankind, shall be judged, is evident from the 13th verse of the 20th chapter, where it is declared, that every man, without exception, "shall be judged according to his works;" which expressions clearly demonstrate, that all men, whether under the millennium or not, shall be subjected to a state of trial: And, if they shall, then it is plain, that a flow of outward prosperity will rather have a tendency to hurt, than to promote the interest of religion; and that higher measures of knowledge will not be a sufficient check, since it hath been often found, that some of the most knowing men have been also most remarkably wicked; and therefore it is consequent, if there shall be a millennium of happiness, it must consist in

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a state of pure spiritual prosperity, to which adversity hath always been most friendly.

In answer to these objections, it is acknowledged, that the happiness of the millennial state will chiefly consist in the spiritual prosperity of its subjects; and also that these will certainly be in a state of trial; and farther, that a mere speculative knowledge of their duty will not of itself be a sufficient check or balance against temptations. But, after all these concessions, it still remains a certain truth, that the knowledge of our duty is of great advantage, in order to the performance of it; and, when this knowledge is accompanied with special communications of grace, and powerful external motives, what a mighty influence must it have to preserve men from the force of worldly temptations, and to keep them steady in the practice of religion?

Let us suppose a man blest with a healthy constitution, and an equal temperament of body, from which naturally flows a sweetness of disposition; let us suppose him also born for filling up some high station in life; and, besides the aids of divine grace, to have had the benefit of a liberal and pious education, and good example, and afterwards to be settled in such happy circumstances, as not to be assailed by any violent temptations to deviate from the path of duty; such a man, though subjected to some common or ordinary trials; yet, having so many and so great advantages, may he not be conceived to grow old in virtue, and to die untainted with any gross acts of vice, whilst his health, his power, and riches, contributed to his more extensive usefulness, and at the same time, to his higher spiritual perfection?

Though the above is only supposed, yet they must be great strangers to the world, who, (notwithstanding our present depravity), think that no such persons have existed, or that all mankind are upon

upon an equal level, as to their moral trial. If then such persons, and such circumstances have already existed in the world, (however few they may possibly be), is there any difficulty in conceiving, that God may, in some future period, place the whole, or at least the greatest part of christian magistrates, in like or much more favourable circumstances? And, if this shall once happen, what mighty advantages must redound to their subjects? since

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

Besides, if we consider, that, on account of mens rebellion against God, the human race hath been punished with an almost continued series of sufferings and calamities for near six thousand years; may we not then entertain the pleasing hope, that, in compassion to mankind, an infinitely good God, who is love itself, and who sent "his only begotten Son to die for us," will grant us one thousand years, or a sabbath of rest, to enjoy the fruits of his beneficence, before the conclusion of the great drama?

This seems to be imported in the figure whereby the state of the church is represented in the 12th chapter, during the reign of antichrist. There, the woman or church is said to "flee from the face of "the serpent into the wilderness, where she was to "be nourished for 1260 days." Now, as this figure bears a plain allusion to the state of the Old Testament church in the wilderness; and, as this was succeeded by the possession of the land of Canaan, a land flowing with milk and honey, after they had extirpated or expelled the idolatrous nations out of it; so this possession is called, in the 95th Psalm, a sabbath or rest. In analogy to this type, may we not then infer, that, when the New Testament

ment church hath once finished its trials in the wilderness, and extirpated papal idolatry, it shall enter upon a flourishing and glorious state, both of temporal and spiritual prosperity? And this appears still to be more probable, since we find in the 11th chapter of Isaiah's prophecy, (which, according to the most judicious commentators, contains a sublime description of the millennium), that the happy state of the church, upon the conversion of Jews and Gentiles, is represented in the 10th verse, by a Sabbath or rest: "His rest shall be glorious."

Farther, since God measures out his temporal mercies or judgments to large bodies or societies of men in this world, according to their moral behaviour, as sufficiently appears from the histories of all nations; is there not then a probability (abstracting from the prophecy), that his church shall be as long flourishing and triumphant, as she has, in any remarkable degree, been formerly borne down and oppressed?

But, before this happy æra shall take place, we have reason, from what hath been already observed, to conclude, that a general and terrible assault shall be made by all the powers of darkness and idolatry, upon the true church of God, by which it may be subjected to a state of purgation. This seems to be implied, Revelation 16th chapter, 15th verse, where, immediately after the preparation for the last and decisive battle is mentioned, follow these awful words: "Behold, I come as a thief; blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame." Which words are of the same import with that warning given to the church of Sardis, chapter 3d, verse 3d, "Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent; if therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I shall come upon thee."

thee:" And then a promise is made to such as "had not defiled their garments," that they shall "walk with him in white;" that is, they shall be particularly honoured and distinguished by him upon that occasion.

Should not therefore the consideration of this awful threatening, and of God's judgments upon the disobedient Jews, "whose carcases fell in the wilderness," together with the deplorable condition of our protestant brethren in Germany and Poland, who have been so long in the furnace, make us tremble on account of our sins? We cannot think that theirs have been greater. And, tho' we may have some reason to hope, that we or our posterity shall be employed to propagate the christian religion in its purity, into those places of the world with which we are connected, especially on the vast continent of America; yet, it is too, too evident, that we are not as yet fit instruments for effectually promoting such glorious purposes. For, what through the prevalence of hypocrisy and formality on the one hand, and of profaneness and open wickedness on the other, it is much to be feared, that the number of the truly good, is comparatively small. God, indeed, still bears with our sins, and waits for our repentance. O may it be our happiness, to be drawn to our duty by the gentle cords of love, rather than to be beaten to it by the scourge of a desolating war!

But, before we conclude this chapter, it will be proper to answer some objections which have been made against the above explication of the vials*.

Some have imagined, that because the seven seals were first opened before the seven trumpets began to sound, that therefore, in analogy to this, the seventh trumpet must sound before the first of the seven vials shall be poured out. But such ought to consider, that no single argument from analogy can

* See these objections in Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, vol. 3. p. 254. 255. 256.

can possibly infer the absolute certainty of any fact. All that it can prove is only, that such or such a thing is possible, or somewhat likely; but it can be of no weight at all, when it is opposed by stronger proofs to the contrary.

Now, to me it appears evident, that since, Revelation 11th chapter, 8th verse, papal Rome is typified by Egypt, and since, verse 6th of that chapter, the witnesses are typified by Moses, insomuch, that they are said not only to "have power to turn the waters into blood," but also to *smite* the papal earth with all other *plagues*, similar to those which Moses inflicted upon the Egyptians; and, since the vials in the 15th chapter, 1st verse, are expressly called the seven last plagues, and the first five vials, recorded in the 16th chapter, have a plain respect to the Egyptian plagues; to me, I say, it therefore appears evident, that the first five vials must be poured out by the witnesses, before they have finished their testimony; because, when once their testimony is concluded, the character of witnesses no longer continues; and it is clear, from chapter 11th, 12th, and 13th verses, that their testimony will be finished at the sounding of the seventh trumpet.

Besides, can any person reasonably conclude, after the various revolts of so many powerful kingdoms in Europe from the jurisdiction of the papacy, and the dreadful wound which it hath received by the reformation, that no plague hath, as yet, been inflicted upon papal Rome?

Farther, since, according to the most judicious interpreters of the Apocalypse, the conclusion of the second woe, mentioned Revelation 11th chapter, 14th verse, is a prediction of the overthrow of the Ottoman empire; and also, that the *drying up of the Euphrates*, by the effusion of the sixth vial, is a prediction of the same event, namely, of the overthrow
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of the Turks, (who, from that river made their first irruption into the Greek empire, and ever since have kept possession of the countries adjacent to it), and, since it evidently appears, from chapter 11th, 14th and 15th verses, that this overthrow must happen before the seventh angel shall sound his trumpet; it therefore follows, that the first six vials must be poured out before the seventh trumpet shall be sounded; and also, that the sounding of this trumpet will perfectly coincide with the effusion of the seventh vial.

If it should be objected, that the description of the vials immediately succeeds to the prediction of the fall of papal Rome, mentioned in the 14th chap. and the seven vials are said in the 15th chapter, 6th verse, to be the *seven last plagues*; that therefore it is reasonable to think, that the seven vials do not contain a full enumeration of all the plagues which were to be poured out upon the papacy, but only of the seven last calamities, by which it was to be overthrown. In answer to this, I would observe, that there is a twofold series of plagues denounced against the empire of Rome in this prophecy: The first series is denounced against its temporal empire; and these are particularly described by the soundings of the seven trumpets; (the first beginning with the invasion of Alaric, and the seventh concluding with the overthrow of the pope's temporal government, and of the secular princes who shall then support him;) the last series of plagues is denounced against its spiritual empire; and these are particularly described by the effusion of the seven vials, which are justly called the seven last plagues because they have a respect to the last state of the Roman empire, namely, its spiritual government; and to the last series of calamities, by which the empire of Rome shall be humbled, and at length destroyed.—Now, since in the first series of plagues

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described by the trumpets, there is, (according to the explanation of the best interpreters), a full enumeration of the particular calamities by which the temporal empire of Rome was brought so low as at present ; and, since the last series of plagues (which were to fall upon its spiritual empire), is represented in the vials by the very same figures *, have we not then reason, from such a strong analogy as this, to conclude, that, in the seven vials, there is as full and particular an enumeration of all the plagues, from first to last, which were to fall upon papal Rome, as there was of those which happened to its temporal empire, by the sounding of the trumpets? especially when we consider, that it was not the principal design of the Apocalypse to describe the temporal state of Rome, but its spiritual. And seeing the fall of the papacy had been predicted in the 14th chapter, was it not natural to subjoin, in the two following chapters, a particular description of the various gradations of this fall?

If, after all, it should be urged, that the foregoing explication supposes, that, in the prophecy, the events figured by the trumpets, and those represented by the vials, are confounded together ; I answer, that the explication supposes no other confusion, than that which the nature of things doth allow, and which a full and faithful narration of different facts, happening at one and the same time, doth necessarily require.

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* Compare the calamities mentioned Revelation 8th and 9th chapters, at the sound of the trumpets, with those mentioned in the 16th chapter, at the effusion of the vials, and you shall find them represented by the same figures,

A Calculation of the 2300 prophetic Days or Years mentioned Daniel chap. 8th, ver. 13. 14. from which it will appear to be highly probable, that the overthrow of the Turkish Empire by Christian Powers is at no great distance.

IN the above passages of the book of the prophet Daniel, we have these remarkable words. "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint, how long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of delolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot ? And he said unto me, Unto 2300 days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." That, by the sanctuary, we are to understand the temple of God at Jerusalem, is evident from the 11th and 12th verses of this chapter, and it is foretold in the 1st verse that he had this vision *in the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar*. The temple of Jerusalem then being the *sanctuary*, that, according to ver. 11. and 14. was to be *polluted and cast down*, and continue in a state of delolation and pollution for 2300 prophetic days or years : The first question to be solved is, When these 2300 years commenced ? Now it must appear plain to every sincere inquirer, that they either must be dated from the vision, or from the destruction of the temple by Titus Vespasian. For they cannot be supposed to have commenced at the polluting of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, since this pollution did not continue so many natural days before the temple was purified by Judas Maccabeus ; besides he did not, according to the prophecy in the 11th verse, cast
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down the sanctuary to the ground, but left it standing. If we should date the beginning of the 2300 years from the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, then, according to this supposition, the end of them would not be till 570 years hence. But it is evident from Rev. xvi. 12. 17. 18. 19. that the sixth vial which was to be *poured out upon the Euphrates*, or, as I have explained it, the Ottoman empire, (p. 156. 157. 158.), and which was to prepare the way for the conversion of the Jews, and of the Asiatic princes to the Christian faith, was to happen before the destruction of the papacy, it being foretold, in the three last of these verses, that the final ruin of the spiritual Babylon would happen under the seventh and last vial. It is also plain from chap. xi. 14. 15. that, when once the second woe is past, or (according to all the judicious interpreters of its characters mentioned Rev. ix.) when the Ottoman empire shall be overthrown, that the third woe, or the last plague upon papal Rome and all the powers of darkness will come quickly, and that, immediately thereafter, "all the kingdoms of the world will become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and that he shall reign for ever and ever. Since then the 2300 years must be supposed to end a little before, or at least about the time of the destruction of the papacy, I must observe that all the arguments, advanced in the essay for the speedy downfall of papal Rome, do also prove that the 2300 years are near to a conclusion, and consequently, that they ought to be dated from the 3d year of the reign of Belshazzar, when the prophet Daniel had the vision concerning them. Whereas, if we should date the beginning of them from the destruction of Jerusalem, and in consequence suppose that they were not to terminate until 570 years hence, then, according to the above observations, (which we ought ever to keep

keep in our eye), the reign of the apocalyptic beast (which by the prophecy was only to continue 1260 years) did not commence till A. D. 1140; but, instead of this being the æra of the papacy, it is plain from history, that, much about this time, it received its first incurable wound from the Albigenses and Waldenses; and that ever since its authority and lustre have been upon the decline. Besides, Daniel chapter viii. in the 11th verse, it is predicted, that "the daily sacrifice should be taken away, and the place of God's sanctuary should be cast down." In the 13th verse, the question is put, how long it should be to the end of these calamities foretold by the vision? That this is the meaning of the question is plain from the answer in the 14th verse, where it is not foretold when these calamities were to begin, or how long they were to continue after their commencement, but only that "the sanctuary was to be cleaned," and that this event should not happen until 2300 days or years.

The above will appear with still greater evidence, if we shall consider that remarkable prediction concerning the servitude of the Israelites in Egypt, mentioned Gen. 15. chap. 13. verse. There God expresses himself thus to Abraham: "Know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them 400 years;" and that, by the nation whom they were to serve, is meant the Egyptian, appears from the following words: "The nation whom they shall serve will I judge, and afterwards they shall come out with great spoil." Now it is evident from the sacred chronology, that the Israelites were not half that time in subjection to the Egyptians. But, if we shall date the beginning of the 400 years from the time of the vision, we will find reason to conclude that they elapsed

fed precisely at the time when the Israelites departed from Egypt; and I appeal to every person, if, at first reading of this passage, they do not find greater difficulties in dating the beginning of the 400 years, from the time of Abraham's vision, than in dating the beginning of the 2300 years from the time of Daniel's. But, from a more accurate view of both, it will appear, that the prophecies did not foretel the precise duration of the calamities, but only the time when they should be finished *.

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* In the former edition of the essay on the Revelation, when I was commenting upon the above passage, I observed, that, though by the prophecy, the children of Israel were to be freed from their slavery at the end of 400 years, yet Moses declares, Exod. 12. chap. 41. verse, that, at the end of 430 years, they departed out of Egypt. His words are: "And it came to pass, that at the end of the 430 years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." This is also confirmed by the apostle Paul, Gal. 3. chap. 16. and 17. verses who reasons thus: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made, he saith not unto seeds as of many, but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, that the covenant which was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was 430 years after, cannot disannul that it should make the promise of none effect." Hence I then imagined, that the spirit of God, when he predicts that, after some centuries, a certain event is to happen, does not, unless they are particularly mentioned, reckon upon a few years more. But though this opinion hath had the countenance of some great men, yet, upon reflection, I must renounce it, because, if such liberties of explanation were allowed, they would render the accomplishment of scriptural prophecies altogether vague and indeterminate. I am therefore of opinion, that the prophecy of the 400 years mentioned Gen. 15th chapter 13th verse, had, from the time of its being uttered to the exit of the Israelites from Egypt, its exact accomplishment, but that the 430 years mentioned by Moses, Exod. 12th chapter 41st verse, and by the apostle Paul, Gal. 3d chapter 17th verse, had a different era for their commencement. For it is plain, that, in the vision recorded, Gen. 15. chapter,

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In the former edition of the preceding essay, there was a rough draught of a calculation of the

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no mention is made of *the spiritual seed*. The promises there are all of a temporal nature. But the apostle Paul mentions the beginning of the 430 years as the æra of the spiritual promise made to Abraham concerning the Messiah, "in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed." This calls us to look back from the prophecy in the 15th chapter of Genesis, to the first promise made to Abraham. Now we are told by the martyr Stephen, Acts 7th chapter 2d verse, "that the God of glory appeared to Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia before he dwelt in Charran," and Gen. 12th chapter 1st verse, Moses tells "us, that God had said to Abraham," namely, when he was in Ur (according to Stephen's explanation) "Get thee out of thy country," &c. and then follows the promise in the 3d verse, "In thee" (or as it is expressed Gen. 28th chapter 14th verse, "in thy seed) shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Further, it is evident from Gen. 12th chapter 4th verse, that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he departed out of Haran, (when the promise of the Messiah was probably renewed to him), and it is plain that he was eighty-five years of age when the vision recorded in the 15th chapter happened, because it will appear, from its connection with the events mentioned in the 16th chapter, that he was favoured with it the very year which preceded the birth of Ishmael, at the time of whose birth Abraham was eighty-six years old, Gen. xvi. 16. and consequently the vision recorded in the 15th chapter happened ten years after Abraham departed from Haran.

How long Abraham tarried in Ur after the first call and promise was given to him, we are not told, nor how long he resided in Haran before the death of his father Terah. It is probable that God had appeared to Abraham several times before he formed the resolution of leaving his native country, and that some time passed before he gave an account of the divine manifestations with which he was favoured. And since Terah is represented, Gen. 11th chapter 31st verse, as perfectly willing to accompany his son Abraham into the land of Canaan, it is probable, when, through the infirmities of old age, he was obliged to stop at Haran, that God, on account of the good inclinations which he had shewn to obey him, allowed Abraham to continue with his aged parent to sustain and comfort him until his death. Allowing then 20 years from the first appearance and promise

2300 years, taken from some chronological tables then before me ; but, from a more accurate examination

promise of God to Abraham until the death of Terah, and ten years from his death to the vision recorded Gen. chap. 15. and 400 years from the vision to the exit of the Israelites from Egypt, there will be precisely 430 years from the first promise to Abraham to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. For although that necessary brevity, which the sacred historian uses, would not permit him to mention every incident in the life of Abraham; yet, since he narrates, in the account of the vision, that Abraham's posterity should be freed from their slavery and subjection to a foreign power precisely after 400 years, and also narrates, Exod. 12th chapter 41st verse, that, at the end of 430 years, they went from the land of Egypt, and is so precise as to the time, even to a very day, that he adds these remarkable words, " the self-same day they went out of Egypt ;" and since the apostle, Gal. 3d chapter 17th verse, dates the beginning of these 430 years from the first promise made to Abraham concerning the Messiah, and that this must have been made long before the prophecy in the 15th chapter of Genesis, even at the time when " the Lord of glory appeared to him in Ur of the Chaldees;" we must therefore conclude, that Moses dated the commencement of the 430 years from the æra of the apostle, namely from the first promise made to Abraham in Ur, and that from that time, to the exit of the Israelites from Egypt, there were precisely 430 years. For, when we consider Moses as an inspired and infallible historian, we must conceive the facts which he narrates as absolutely true, and the prophecies which he mentions as having their exact accomplishment, otherwise we must allow the apology of the Jews for not believing in our Saviour, notwithstanding the accomplishment of the Old-Testament prophecies concerning him to be a just one, and that the objections to scriptural prophecies are unanswerable. For, if a single instance can be given in which these prophecies have plainly failed with respect to their accomplishment, that one will necessarily shake the credit of all the rest. But, since we have infallible evidences, that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and since the prophecies contained in them are given as one proof of their divinity, we must therefore according to the justest reasoning, conclude, that as these prophecies came from the God of truth, they cannot have a vague or unsettled meaning, but they

nation of historians and chronologers, I am of opinion, that the following computation is much nearer to the truth : Viz.

Dating the first of the 2300 years from the third year of Belsazzar's reign, when the prophet had the vision, as he tells us in the beginning of the chapter, then, according to Berofus, he reigned after that period	Years. 2
Cyrus, according to Xenophon, reigned	7
Cambyfes reigne d, according to Ptolomy's canon	8
Darius reigned, according to ditto	36
Xerxes's reign, according to the exactest observation from the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides	11
Artaxerxes, according to all chronologers	41
Darius Nothus also, according to all chronologers	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon, according to Ptolomy's mathematical canon	46
Artaxerxes Ochus, according to ditto	21
Arfes, according to ditto	2
Darius Codomannus, according to ditto	6
Alexander the Great, according to ditto	6
From Alexander's death to the æra of the Seleucidæ, or the first year of Seleucus Nicator, according to Scaliger and Petavius	12
From the æra of the Seleucidæ to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Josephus, Ant. L. 12. Chap. 14.	149
From the death of Antiochus to the taking of Jerusalem by Herod, according to Josephus, Ant. L. 14. Chap. 28.	126
A 2	From

they must be supposed to have a fixed, precise, and determinate meaning and accomplishment, whether we are capable fully to discover the same or not.

From the taking of Jerusalem by Herod Years,
to his death, according to what Josephus re-
lates of an eclipse happening a little before
Herod's death, Ant. L. 17. Chap. 8. 36

From the death of Herod to the passion
of our Saviour 33

From the death of our Saviour to this pre-
sent year 1770, according to the true time 1738

2299

The only material differences amongst historians
and chronologers, with respect to the particulars of
the above long series of years, are,

1st, Concerning the time betwixt the third year
of Belshazzar's reign and the death of Cyrus.

2dly, Concerning the length of the reign of Xerxes,
Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, and Arses.

3dly, Concerning the time between Herod's tak-
ing Jerusalem and his death, and between the
death of Herod and the true time of our Saviour's
passion. I shall therefore now proceed to give the
reasons why I have fixed these particulars in the
manner above mentioned.

Beginning then with the time betwixt the third
year of the reign of Belshazzar and the death of
Cyrus, we must observe, that, besides the holy scrip-
tures, the only ancient historians who can give us any
light as to these matters are, Herodotus, Xenophon,
and Berosus. Herodotus, who lived in the reign of
Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus, about eighty
years after the æra of Cyrus, says, that the last king
of the Babylonians was Labynitus, the son of Laby-
nitus and Nicotris an eminent queen of Babylon.
By the father (as Sir Isaac Newton observes) he
seems

seems to understand, that Labynitus, who, he tells us, was king of Babylon when the great eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, put an end to the six years war between the Medes and Lydians; and this, (as Sir Isaac observes), was the great Nebuchadnezzar. Herodotus affirms, that Astyages, king of Media, slew the king of Babylon, and took the city; and that Astyages was afterwards defeated and taken prisoner by Cyrus. The prophet Jeremiah, ch. 27. v. 7. expressly foretells, that the Babylonian empire should continue during Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and his son's sons, and that then it would be destroyed; and he predicts, in ch. 51st, that this would be done by the kings of the Medes; and, the prophet Daniel, chap. 5th, verses 18th and 22d, calls Belshazzar Nebuchadnezzar's son, which was a common expression in the eastern countries for a grandson.

Xenophon, who lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, about 130 years after the æra of Cyrus the Great, in his history of the life of that prince, gives no account of the progenitors of the king of Babylon, or of the years of his reign. He confines himself wholly to the history of Cyrus, his parents, relations, generals, and actions; and he ascribes the taking of Babylon, and the death of the last king of Babylon, wholly to Cyrus; and affirms, that, after the conquest of that city, in his return to Persia, he went to his uncle Cyaxares, king of Media, and offered him the royal palace of Babylon, and the government of that empire, that he might act therein, as if it was his own: And he tells us, Cyaxares had no male issue; that Cyrus was married to his daughter, and by that marriage became his heir; and, further, that Cyrus, after the taking of Babylon, lived only seven years.

Berosus narrates, that Laboraschad, who, he says, was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, reigned five

year;

years ; four under the tutory of his father (whom he affirms to have been son-in-law to Nebuchadnezzar), and nine months personally; and that he was succeeded by Nabonidus, one of those who slew him: And that Nabonidus reigned seventeen years; and was conquered by Cyrus, who, he says, gave him thereafter the government of Carmania. Berosus wrote about eighty years after Xenophon, at the time of Alexander the Great's death, and cannot be supposed to have had such a distinct and particular knowledge of what happened in the reign of Cyrus, as Xenophon must have had. However, as a public register of the dates of the kings reigns, and of the eclipses of the stars, was kept at Babylon, by the priests of Belus, (of whom Berosus was one); it is probable, that he has given the true account of the number of years of Laboraschad's or Belshazzar's reign: And it is also probable, the whole number of the years of Nabonidus's or Cyaxares's reign, both in Media and in Babylon, might have been inserted in the register of Babylon, by his own orders (as he was a very vain man, according to Xenophon's account of him), or by the orders of his nephew and heir Cyrus, who, (it is likely from the above account taken from Xenophon), committed to him the government of the empire of Babylon during his foreign wars; and, that the story of his being conquered by Cyrus, and afterwards his having the government of Carmania conferred upon him, was only a popular tale, grafted upon Cyrus his resuming the government of Babylon, after he had finished his conquests, and Cyaxares his retiring at that time to his hereditary dominions in Media. For, of all these three historians, Xenophon appears to me to deserve the greatest credit, with respect to the facts which he relates. He was a man of the soundest judgment, and of great virtue and industry. He had the best opportunities of know-
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ing what happened in the reign of Cyrus; as he lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, (a descendant of the first Cyrus), and was one of his generals and favourites; and, he tells us, in his institutions of Cyrus the elder, that he had been at the utmost pains to collect whatever was memorable and worthy to be transmitted to posterity, in the life and actions of that great prince. Scaliger, indeed, with an arrogance and levity natural to a Frenchman, treats Xenophon's institutions of Cyrus almost as if it were a mere romance; purely because Xenophon exhibits Cyrus as an example of a wise and well instructed prince, and embellishes his history with a variety of speeches. But, if these were good reasons for rejecting his history, they would be as good for rejecting the histories of Thucydides, Titus Livius, Josephus, Salust, and Tacitus. The freedoms, so much condemned in Xenophon, being such as the best historians have taken, whilst they paid a sacred regard to truth in their narrations of the principal facts. A most striking instance of the truth of Xenophon's history must appear to every christian reader, who shall compare his account of the destruction of the king of Babylon, and the taking of that city, with that of Daniel's and the prophecies of Jeremiah. Xenophon narrates, that Cyrus took the city of Babylon by diverting the stream of the Euphrates (which run through the city) into large trenches which he had dug for its reception, whereby the channel of the river became passable to his troops; and that they having entered the city by night, the king of Babylon and his nobles were slain, when, unsuspecting of danger, they had been feasting together to the honour of their gods. Now the prophet Jeremiah, in chap. 51. of his prophecy, positively foretells, that "Babylon would suddenly fall, and be destroyed by the kings of the Medes; that one post should run and meet another, and

and one messenger should meet another, to shew the king of Babylon, that his city was taken. That the Lord would dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. That, in the heat of their feasts, he would make her princes, her captains, and rulers, drunk, and that they should sleep a perpetual sleep, and not awake." Daniel also narrates, chap. 5. that Belshazzar was slain in that very night, when he and his princes, wives, and concubines, had been carousing together, and celebrating a great festival to the honour of their gods. He, indeed, according to the usual brevity of the sacred historians, without making any mention of Cyrus at that time, adds, that Darius or Cyaxares, the Median, took the kingdom, when he "was sixty two years old." But the Hebrew word, here translated, "he took the kingdom," ought rather to be rendered, "he received the kingdom delivered to him." The original word is *cabal*, which always signifies to receive from the hand of another: And thus the doctrine, which the Jews received by oral tradition, was called *cabbalah*. Thus also, Daniel, chap. 9th, verse 1st, Darius, according to our translation, is said to "have been made king over the realm of the Chaldeans." Upon the whole, as Belshazzar was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and, in consequence, must have been the Laboraschad of Berosus; and, as we have reason to believe, that the account of his five years reign, given by Berosus, was faithfully copied by him out of the register kept at Babylon; and since also, for the reasons already mentioned, we have ground to believe, that Xenophon's account of the death of the king of Babylon, and the taking of the city by Cyrus, is a true one; and that Cyrus reigned, from that period, only seven years: It is therefore hoped, that this part of the calculation will appear to be founded upon the best authorities.

After

After the death of Cyrus we find, by the unanimous consent of all chronologers, that his son Cambyfes reigned seven years, and five months; that, after his death, the impostor Smerdis reigned seven months; and that Darius, who succeeded them, reigned 36 years. There are indeed very considerable differences amongst chronologers concerning the length of the reign of Xerxes. Diodorus, and the chronologers who have followed him, affirming that Xerxes reigned twenty years before the reign of his son Artaxerxes did commence; whereas Petavius hath offered a proof, from the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, that Artaxerxes began his reign in the twelfth year of the reign of his father Xerxes, he having been, (as he supposes), then admitted by him into an equal share of the government with himself. The authorities upon which Petavius grounds his opinion are, beyond all question, superior to that of Diodorus, in point of antiquity; as both the above mentioned historians wrote not long after the period in question. Let us therefore examine their writings with the utmost accuracy, that we may see what light these ancient authors throw upon the subject.

Herodotus, who was born in the reign of Xerxes, narrates, L. VII. C. 20. that, in the beginning of the fifth year of his reign, Xerxes entered upon his Grecian expedition, by marching his numerous armies towards Sardis, and that he took up his winter quarters there; consequently, his passage over the Hellespont, which happened the spring thereafter, and the defeat of his navy at Salamis by Themistocles, in October following, must have been in the sixth year of his reign; and the defeat of his army, under the command of Mardonius, by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians at the battle of Platea, (which, according to all historians, happened September thereafter), must have been in the seventh year

year of his reign. The year following, viz. the eighth of Xerxes, Thucydides tells us, L. 1. S. 94, that the Grecian fleet, under the command of Pausanias the Lacedemonian, invaded Cyprus, and overthrew many cities; that, after this expedition, Pausanias besieged and took Byzantium, (which must have happened the year after the expedition against Cyprus, and in the ninth year of Xerxes); that, immediately after this success, he entered upon a treasonable correspondence with Xerxes; and, having for some time behaved very haughtily, the confederates accused him of affecting a princely dominion: That upon this he was recalled by the Spartans; and, though he was absolved from the crime of treason, yet, that the Spartans would not restore him to his former command, but allowed it to be given by the confederates to the Athenian generals. This must have happened in the tenth year of Xerxes. He then narrates, that although Pausanias was not intrusted with any public command; yet, that he might be in a condition to effect his treasonable designs, he set out in an armed ship for Byzantium; but, being driven from thence by the Athenians, he fixed his residence about Troy: That the Spartans, receiving intelligence of his treasonable machinations there, sent one of their officers to bring him home; and that, some time after his return, his treachery being fully proved, he was starved to death. This (it is highly probable) happened in the eleventh year of Xerxes's reign. Immediately after the discovery of the treasonable practices of Pausanias and his death, the Spartans (as Thucydides relates) accused Themistocles of being one of his associates, and offered a proof thereof; and that Themistocles, not chusing to stand a trial, fled, first to Corcyra, afterwards to the king of the Molossi, and last of all to Ephesus, where, he tells us, Themistocles wrote a petition to the
king

king of Persia, (whom, Thucydides expressly calls Artaxerxes); and who, he says, began his reign a very little before that time; and consequently, the above accusation against Themistocles, and the greatest part of the time which he spent in his flight, appears to have happened in the eleventh and last year of Xerxes's reign, and the first year of the reign of Artaxerxes.

Petavius was of opinion, that, after this period, Xerxes reigned for several years jointly with his son Artaxerxes. But, though it must be allowed that sometimes the Babylonian and Persian kings did admit their sons into an equal share of the government with themselves, yet this seems only to have been the case, when the father had been the first king of his family, or when, through the infirmities of old age, they found themselves incapable to conduct the affairs of government without a partner. Thus Nabopolassar, in his old age, admitted his son Nebuchadnezzar to the throne before his death; and also Darius, in the decline of life, admitted his son Xerxes to the same honour, that the succession in their posterity might continue without opposition, especially as the fathers themselves had been the first kings of their families. But, since the succession had been established in the person of Xerxes, there appears to have been no reason for suspecting that it would be questioned with respect to his son Artaxerxes; and it is evident that Xerxes was not old in the eleventh year of his reign, as he was born after his father ascended the throne. The learned Petavius (as I formerly observed) is of opinion, that the flight of Themistocles happened in the twelfth year of Xerxes's reign; and, that he might reconcile the history of Thucydides with the annals of Diodorus, (who makes Xerxes to have reigned only one year with his father, and twenty without a partner), he sup-

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poses that Artaxerxes had been raised to the throne by his father several years before his father's death.

It is indeed universally agreed, that Xerxes was advanced by his father Darius to an equal share of the government with himself; but the time when this happened is not certain; and this is not much to be wondered at, since it is generally acknowledged, that the first Grecian histories were written in the reign of Darius, and consequently, these being composed in an age only emerging from ignorance and fable, must have been very imperfect. It is rather more probable, as Darius was much advanced in life before his Scythian expedition, that, prior to his entering upon it, he raised his son Xerxes to the throne, that he might maintain the government during his absence, and that, whatever calamities might befall him in that dangerous war, at such a distance from his dominions, he might secure the regal power to his descendants. His Scythian expedition was finished some time before the battle of Marathon, which was fought five years before the death of Darius, according to Herodotus; we may therefore suppose for the above reasons, that Xerxes began to reign nine years before his father's death, and these added to his twelve years reign without a partner will make his whole reign to have been for twenty-one years; which, (supposing them to have been marked in the public registers of the empire), might have occasioned the mistake of Diodorus. But, whatever there may be in this, yet, as Diodorus lived four hundred years after Thucydides, we ought, in all reason, to prefer the authority of the last-mentioned writer, who, as Cornelius Nepos observes, lived the nearest to Themistocles of all those who have wrote the history of these times, and was also of the same city. And it is very observable, he not only

only declares that, after Themistocles fled to Ephesus, he sent a petition to Artaxerxes; but, in that petition, he claimed the merit of signal services which he had done to Xerxes after his defeat at Salamis, without making any appeal to Xerxes himself, which he certainly would have done if Xerxes had been alive, and possessed of an equal share of the government with his son. I know, that the annals of the Athenian Archons, in the Oxford marbles, and those of others, make a much longer time from the defeat of Xerxes to the flight of Themistocles; but, as they have been found incorrect in several instances, even by their greatest admirers, so none of these authors can be ranked with Thucydides either in respect of accuracy or antiquity.

That Xerxes reigned only eleven years, and that the flight of Themistocles happened, mostly, in the first year of Artaxerxes, will also be confirmed by the following observations.

1st, As it is clear from the above, that the battle of Plataea was fought in the seventh year of Xerxes, so Thucydides narrates, that, after this defeat of the Medes at Plataea, and afterwards in a sea-fight at Mycale, the Athenians, (whose city had been destroyed before the battle, and who had betaken themselves to their ships), proceeded to the siege of Sestos; and, having taken that city, they passed the winter there, and that next summer they left the Hellespont, and, having brought with them their household-furniture and goods, which they had conveyed to the neighbouring islands, when they were obliged to leave their city, they began a-new to rebuild their houses; and by the instigation, and under the conduct of Themistocles, in opposition to the remonstrances of the Spartans, to rebuild the walls of Athens, and to enlarge and fortify their naval harbour at the Pyraeum; which
(although

(although Thucydides says they were not long in finishing them) must have taken up some more than two years. This brings us to the tenth year of Xerxes's reign, when, we observed formerly, Pausanias was deprived of the command of the allied fleet, and it was given to the Athenians.

2dly, Thucydides narrates, that the command of the fleet being given by the confederates to the Athenians, in order that they might prosecute the war more successfully against the Persians, they enacted, with the consent of their allies, that a tax should be paid by them; and Plutarch affirms, that Themistocles was employed to levy these taxes, and that he used force and great severity in executing that office. This, it would appear, happened in the tenth year of the reign of Xerxes.

3dly, Plutarch further observes, that the great power which Themistocles had acquired, and the great severity which he had used, provoked the jealousy of his countrymen, and the ill-will of their allies to such a degree, that he was banished Athens, which must have happened a little before Pausanias was brought a second time to trial by the Spartans. And, as it appears from Thucydides, that this trial of Pausanias continued for a long time, we must conceive, that it took up the greater part, if not the whole, of the eleventh year of the reign of Xerxes. Thucydides also affirms, that, immediately after the trial and death of Pausanias, Themistocles was accused by the Lacedemonians, and that he saved himself from their persecutions, by a long and dangerous flight.

The latter part of the above computation is confirmed by what Thucydides observes, L. 1. S. 96. and 98. that after the Athenians had received from their confederates proper supplies for the equipment and maintenance of their fleets and armies, (which happened, according to the above, in the tenth year of Xerxes), the only two naval expeditions

ditions of any consequence, in which they were engaged before the flight of Themistocles, were that against the Carystians in Eubæa, whom, after several engagements, they brought to terms, and that against Naxos, in which they were employed when Themistocles was making his escape to Ephesus. The first of these expeditions must have occupied them during the eleventh year of Xerxes's reign; especially if we shall consider, that, immediately before this expedition, they had been engaged in plundering the island of Scyros, transporting the inhabitants, and in planting it with a colony of their own people. And Thucydides relates, that, when Themistocles, in his voyage to Ephesus, came in sight of the Athenian camp in the island of Naxos, he was greatly terrified, lest he should have fallen into their hands. Now, since it is evident, that, at this time, the Athenians and their confederates had not conquered that small island of Naxos, (which was at no great distance from them), we must conceive that it was either in the spring, or early in the summer, that Themistocles sailed by their fleet, and that he arrived at Ephesus some time before the end of the month of August, or the first day of the month Thoth; and, as Thucydides affirms, that Themistocles, upon his arrival at Ephesus, sent a letter to the king of Persia; so he expressly calls this prince *Artaxerxes*, who, he says, was the son of Xerxes, and had newly begun to reign. His words are, *νικητὶ βασιλευντα*, L. 1. S. 137.

From all these things put together, it is most probable, that Themistocles sent his letter before the month Thoth; and consequently, that Artaxerxes had begun his reign some time before that period. Now, as it is well known, that the Chaldean and Egyptian astronomers counted the reigns of their kings from the month Thoth; and that when any Prince began his reign, although it had been only a few days before that month began, yet these were ac-

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counted by them as the first year of his reign, and that, when the month Thoth commenced, it was reckoned by them as the beginning of the second year of his reign ; so we have reason to conclude, from every view of the above-mentioned facts, that Xerxes reigned only eleven complete years, and that, according to the chronology of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, the most part of that time which was taken up by Themistocles in flying from place to place, to avoid the persecutions of his enemies, is not to be referred to the last year of the reign of Xerxes, but to the first year of the reign of his son Artaxerxes.

By the unanimous consent of all chronologers, Artaxerxes reigned forty-one years, and Darius Nothus nineteen.

Artaxerxes Mnemon reigned, according to Eusebius and Petavius, 40 years, according to Diodorus, 43, and according to Ptolomy's mathematical canon, 46 years.

Artaxerxes Ochus, according to Eusebius and Petavius, reigned 26 years, according to Diodorus, 23 years, and according to Ptolemy, 21 years. But it is observable, that Diodorus and Eusebius perfectly agree as to the number of years of which the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and his son Ochus, conjunctly taken, did consist. What they detract from the one's reign, they add to the other's ; and they differ from Ptolemy only in one year. The occasion of their differing, as to the length of each reign, might have been owing to this, that, as we are told, the father Artaxerxes Mnemon became very infirm through old age before his death ; so it is probable, that, finding himself unfit to support the whole weight of government, he had then admitted his son into a partnership with him in the regal authority. Supposing this to have been the case (which was a common practice of the Persian monarchs in their old age)

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some might date the beginning of the reign of Ochus from this period, and thereby make it longer, and others might make it shorter by dating the beginning of it from the death of his father. As Ptolomy's astronomical canon, founded upon an exact calculation of the eclipses, new moons, and festivals, recorded by historians, which happened during these reigns, must be conceived to be the most accurate of the three accounts above mentioned, at least with respect to the two reigns taken together, I have therefore preferred his computation. For this reason I also prefer the account which he gives of the number of years of the reign of Arses to that of Eusebius, who wrote much later than Ptolomy; and was far from being so exact.

As to the time betwixt the death of Arses and the æra of the Seleucidæ, there is no difference amongst chronologers; and from the æra of the Seleucidæ to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and from that to Jerusalem's being taken by Herod, there is no difference betwixt Josephus and other chronologers. The only difficulty that now remains, is to shew, as near as possible, the precise space of time which intervened between Jerusalem's being taken by Herod, and his death, and between the death of Herod, and the passion of our Saviour.

According to the present copies of Josephus, the intermediate space of time from Jerusalem's being taken by Herod until his death, was thirty-four years, Ant. L. 17. Chap. 10. But several great men have been of opinion that the history of Josephus in this place hath been corrupted, either by a wilful or casual mistake of transcribers. This might easily have happened by the change of a single letter, as the number of thirty-four years is not set down at full length, but only by the letters

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λδ, which signifies 34, and which easily might have been put for λς', which signifies 36. But that which puts the matter beyond all doubt, that there is a mistake in the present text, is this, that as Josephus hath marked the year when Herod took Jerusalem, by mentioning the Olympiad and Consulate when this came to pass, and also that it was taken by Pompey 27 years before, so it will appear, upon an examination of all these characters, that this event must have happened in the year of the Julian period 4677; and since Josephus, Ant. L. 17. C. 8. narrates, that, during Herod's last illness, and a little before his death, there was an eclipse of the moon; so Scaliger, *de emendatione temporum* L. V. and also all chronologers who have wrote concerning it, observe, that that eclipse must, beyond all question, have happened in the year of the Julian period 4713; and consequently, that Herod must have reigned, from the time he took Jerusalem, to that of his death, 36 years.

In the next place, I must observe, that it was the general doctrine of the ancient fathers of the church, from Origen to Theophylact, that the dreadful torments which Herod suffered at, and before his death, were an immediate judgment upon him for the butchery of the children of Bethlehem; and it is evident from Josephus, that, from the time he fell into this wretched condition, to his death, there was little more than the space of two months; and that he died a little before the passover, which was celebrated in Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year, or about the middle of April. And, as seven days were spent by his son Archelaus in solemnizing his funerals, and that, immediately after this, some applications were made by the Jews for a redress of grievances which were presented to him (as Josephus tells us)

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immediately before the passover; we have therefore reason to conclude, that Herod died either in the end of March, or in the beginning of April, of the year of the Julian period 4713.

There have been various opinions as to the day of our Saviour's nativity; some of the ancients affirming, that this grand event happened on the sixth of January, and others, that it happened on the twenty-fifth of December. The latter tradition hath more universally prevailed. However, it is certain, from the authority of Chrysostom, that the church of Rome did not appoint the twenty-fifth day of December to be observed in memory of our Saviour's nativity until the fourth century; and that this rite had been imported from thence to Constantinople only ten years before he preached a sermon on that subject; and it is also evident, that the argument which he makes use of to prove that our Saviour's nativity happened on the twenty-fifth of December is altogether imaginary. He supposes that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was high priest of the Jews, and that the angel appeared to him whilst he ministered in the holy of holies, on the tenth day of the seventh month, and when, according to the law of Moses, he, as high priest, was making an atonement for the people, and, that night, being the twenty-seventh of September, John the Baptist was begotten; that our Saviour was conceived six months thereafter, namely, on the twenty-fifth of April, and that his nativity was consequently on the twenty-fifth of December following.

But who does not see the absurdity of this supposition? Since the Evangelist Luke, in his first chapter, from whence the argument is taken, does not say that Zacharias was officiating as high priest, when the vision happened, but quite the contrary, and represents him only as a plebeian priest serving

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according to his course, and the daily custom of offering incense at the altar of incense, and not in the holy of holies. Since then we can attain to no certainty, as to the precise day of our Saviour's nativity, but have only reason to conclude that it happened much about the end of December, or beginning of January, we may be allowed to divide the difference, and in order that we may go on more regularly in the calculation, to suppose it to have happened on the first day of January of the Julian period 4713. This was indeed the year to which Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century, fixed it, (upon whose calculation our present reckoning is founded); but, by a shameful mistake, he fixed it to the twenty-fifth day of December of that year, thereby, in opposition to the testimony of the evangelists, affirming, that our Saviour's nativity happened about nine months after the death of Herod. But if, according to the most general tradition of the ancients, we shall conclude that our Saviour's nativity happened about the beginning of the 4713 year of the Julian period, or about three months before the death of Herod, then there will be abundance of time for the accomplishment of all the events which the evangelists have declared to have happened between the birth of our Saviour and the death of Herod; viz. Herod's orders to the wise men, the flight of Joseph and Mary, the massacre of the children at Bethlehem, and the dreadful distress which Herod suffered before and at his death.

The above æra of our Saviour's nativity can also easily be reconciled to what is recorded by the Evangelist Luke, in the third chapter of his gospel. He there indeed relates that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; and then, having given an account of John's doctrine and
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manner of preaching to the people, he, according to the usual brevity of the sacred historians, proceeds, in the twenty-first verse, to inform us, that our Lord was baptized by John. But from this passage to conclude, as many foolishly have done, that John baptized our Saviour, at the very first time he exercised his sacred function, would be extremely absurd; since the Evangelist tells us, in the third verse, that, prior to this event, John came, not to a particular place, but to "all the country about Jordan;" that is to say, "he went throughout all the land of Judea on each side of Jordan, (as that river runs through the whole country from north to south), "preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;" and the Evangelist adds, in the 21st verse, that our Saviour's baptism was the last, *after he had baptized all the people*: And, as John's ministry was succeeded by our Saviour's, (as he expresses it, John chap. 3. verse 30. his being to decrease as our Saviour's increased), so we cannot (as Baron Spanheim justly observes), allow less than two years to the ministry of John (the great forerunner of our Saviour, who was "to prepare the way before him, and make a people ready for the Lord," prior to our Lord's baptism and the commencement of his public ministry. This will bring forward his baptism to the 17th year of the reign of Tiberius; and as then our Saviour, according to Luke, was about "thirty years of age," of which he had lived thirteen years under the government of Augustus; so, by this reasoning, his nativity happened in the thirtieth year of the reign of Augustus, (dating the beginning of his reign from the defeat of Mark Antony at the battle of Actium), and this contemporates with the year of the Julian period 4713. Taking things in this view, since then Herod died a little before one passover, and our Saviour's death happened during the celebration of another, and since our

Lord was thirty years when he began his public ministry, and continued to exercise it some months more than three years ; it must therefore follow, according to the above-mentioned most universal tradition, that there elapsed thirty-three years and a few days only betwixt the death of Herod and our Saviour's passion ; and thus the number of years which elapsed since our Saviour's death to this present year will be 1738, being one year more than the computation, according to the vulgar æra, of our Saviour's nativity.

Thus have I endeavoured, with all the exactness of which I am capable, to deduce, in a regular connection, that long series of time, from the third year of Belshazzar's reign, to the end of the 2300 years, when, according to the prophecy, Daniel chap. 8. versè 14. "The temple of Jerusalem is to be cleansed from all spiritual impurities." And it is obvious, that the above chronological deduction, as to the greatest part, is supported by the universal testimony of chronologers ; and, as to those parts of it, about which they are divided, it is justified either by the most authentic histories or by the most exact chronologers.

But, that we may have a further proof of the justness of the above chronology, we shall next proceed to examine it by the seventy years of the Jewish captivity, predicted by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. 25. verses 11th and 12th, and the 70 prophetic weeks, or 490 years, which, according to the prophecy in Daniel, chap. 9th, verses 24th and 25th, were to intervene betwixt the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem and the passion of our blessed Lord.

To begin with the first of these, the seventy years captivity, we find that the generality of commentators agree in dating the commencement of them from the "third of the reign of Jehoiakim," when
Daniel,

Daniel and many of the princes-royal of Judah, were carried captives to Babylon, as we find this event recorded Daniel chap. 1. ver. 1---3. Taking then this to be the true commencement of the captivity, there will be, from this period to the

	Years.
reign of Zedekiah	8
Zedekiah's reign	10
From the taking of Jerusalem which happened the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's (2 Kings 25th chap. 8 ver.) to the end of his reign, which, according to all chronologers, consisted of 43 years	24
Evil Merodach's reign, according to Berosus	2
Belshazzar's reign, according to Berosus	5
Cyrus's reign, according to Xenophon	7
Cambyfes's reign, and that of the impostor Smerdis, according to all chronologers	8
From Cambyfes's death to the sixth year of Darius's reign, when the temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt	6
	70

The reason why, in the above calculation, I allow only ten years to Zedekiah's reign, is, because we are informed by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. 52. vers. 6. and 12. that Jerusalem was taken in the 4th month of the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign, and in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar's. Since then, in the above chronological deduction, I have placed the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of Zedekiah's reign, in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar's, I could not then allow eleven years to Zedekiah's reign, without being guilty of an absurdity, by repeating the year in which Zedekiah's reign ended, namely, marking it once as the last year

year of Zedekiah's reign, and a second time as the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar's.

The reason why I conclude, that the seventy years of the Jewish captivity ended in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, when the temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt, is, because the prophet Zechariah mentions, in the 1st chapter of his prophecy, and there the 7th verse, that, in the second year of Darius, he had a vision, in which, as in the 12th verse, he had represented to him an "angel of the Lord," addressing himself to God in these words: "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against whom thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years!" From which words it is plain, that the seventy years captivity, predicted by the prophet Jeremiah, were only then about being concluded. Further, that an incomplete number of years is here put for a complete one, is evident from the 7th chapter of Zechariah, and there the 1st and 5th verses, where the prophet narrates, that, "in the fourth year of king Darius, the word of the Lord of hosts came unto him, saying, Speak unto all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, when you fasted and mourned even those seventy years, did you at all fast unto me?" and then, he observes, in the 7th verse, that, by reason of their obstinacy in not attending to his words, "Jerusalem and the cities round about her were still in a state of adversity and uninhabited." From the above, it is plain, that the seventy years were not finished in the fourth year of Darius's reign: And, since the same expression is used in the first chapter as in this, both of them must only mean, that the seventy years were well near finished; but they could not be said to be ended until the sixth year of Darius, when, according to Ezra, chapter 6th, verse 15th, the temple was rebuilt, and the Jews, after their

their dispersions by their captivity, became again united together as one people in the worship of God. For the temple of Jerusalem, and the service of God performed there, was undoubtedly the grand centre of their union, and upon which their existence as a distinct nation from others, wholly depended.

This declaration, made in the prophecies of Zechariah, that the seventy years of the Jewish captivity were not finished either in the second or fourth years of Darius, entirely overthrows the opinion of those who make the seventy years to end in the first year of Cyrus's reign, and who, for the establishing of this opinion, adopt the account given by Berosus, that Nabonidus reigned seventeen years before Cyrus; but, even this will not make up the number of seventy years, but only of sixty seven years at most, from the third year of Jehoiakim, to the first year of the reign of Cyrus. They indeed argue, from the words of the prophet Jeremiah, chapter 25th, verse 11th, 12th, "This whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years; and it shall come to pass, when these seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." But, if we shall give a proper attention to the words of the prophecy, we will find, that all that was foretold with respect to the precise time of the event, is the seventy years desolation of Judea, and the servitude of the Jews to the king of Babylon during that time. It is indeed also predicted, that, after the seventy years should be accomplished, God would punish the king of Babylon, or, which is the same thing, that he would destroy all regal government there; and that he would "punish that nation for their iniquity, and make the land of the

the Chaldeans perpetual desolations." But, is it not evident, that no precise time is fixed for these events by the prophet, after the seventy years should come to an end? And, is it not also certain from history, that, for a long time after the seventy years had elapsed, Babylon continued to be one of the principal seats of the Persian government; and that it was not brought to utter desolation for some centuries thereafter?

But, it is further urged, that the sacred penman of the 2d book of Chronicles narrates, chap. 36th, verse 19th, and downwards, "That, after the house of God was burnt, and the walls of Jerusalem broken down, and the palaces thereof destroyed with fire, that they who had escaped were carried away to Babylon, where they were servants to the king of Babylon and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia;" and that he adds, in the 21st verse, these words: "To fulfill the word of the Lord by the prophet Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for, so long as she lay desolate, she kept sabbath to fulfill threescore and ten years." And that he farther adds, in the 22d and 23d verses, as well as Ezra, chap. 1st, verses 1st, 2d, 3d, "That, in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord, spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, might be accomplished), the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia to make a proclamation through all his kingdom to the people of the Jews, to go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel there." This, at first sight, may appear to be a declaration that the seventy years were now accomplished; but, when the words are more accurately canvassed, they cannot be thought to convey to us any more than this, that the seventy years captivity continued until the Persian empire was established; but, at what period of that empire the seventy years ended, it is not said,

laid, but only, that in the first year of Cyrus's reign, (that the prophecy of Jeremiah might be accomplished), "God stirred up Cyrus to make a proclamation to all the people of the Jews throughout his dominions, to go up to Jerusalem, and to build the house of the Lord there." But, it is certain, that it was not built in his, nor his son's time, nor until the sixth year of the reign of Darius; and it is also certain from Ezra, chapter 8th, that it was in consequence of, and from a particular regard to this decree of Cyrus, that Darius ordered it to be rebuilt; and therefore the words of the sacred historian are to be conceived, as if he had said, This decree was an introduction to, and laid a foundation for the accomplishment of the prophecy of the prophet Jeremiah. And thus we must necessarily understand the words, if we would avoid a contradiction between the prophet Zechariah, and the above mentioned sacred historians.

A Calculation of Daniel's Seventy Weeks.

Daniel, chapter 9th, verse 25th, dates the beginning of the seventy weeks, "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem." This appointment was made by Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, Ezra, chap. 7th, verse 7th. The order given by him to Ezra, as recorded in the chapter just now mentioned, was to employ all the donations of "silver and gold and free-will offerings of the people, made in the province of Babylon, and 100 talents of silver, and 100 measures of wheat, and 100 baths of wine, and 100 baths of oil," &c. verse 22d, to be received from the "king's treasures on the south side of the river Euphrates," not only for the maintenance of the

D d

temple

temple-worship at Jerusalem, but also "to do with it whatsoever should seem good to Ezra and his bretheren, according to the will of their God;" verse 18th. The presents of silver and gold received from the king and his counsellors, and lords, and all Israel, are said, chap. 8th, verse 26th, 27th, and 28th, to amount "to 650 talents of silver, 100 talents of gold," &c. And, chap. 9th, verses 9th, Ezra declares, that, in consequence of the favours granted to the Jews by the kings of Persia, they had not only been enabled to repair the "desolations of the house of God," but also "to build a wall about the city;" and we find, Nehemiah, chap. 1st, verses 1st, 2d, 3d, that, in "the twentieth year of king Artaxerxes, the wall of Jerusalem," which had been rebuilt by Ezra, was then "broken down, and the gates thereof burnt with fire," by the enemies of the Jews. Dating then the beginning of the seventy weeks from the seventh year of Artaxerxes's reign, when the order was given him to levy money for defraying the expences of rebuilding Jerusalem, and the maintenance of the temple-worship there:

And that, according to all chronologers, he reigned 41 years; from which, if we shall deduct seven, as the commission was given to Ezra in the seventh year of his reign, there Years. will remain 34.

Darius Nothus, according to all chronologers, reigned 19

Artaxerxes Mnemon reigned, according to Ptolomy's astronomical canon 46

Artaxerxes Ochus, according to ditto 21

Artes, according to ditto, reigned 2

Darius Codomannus reigned, according to ditto 6

Alexander the Great reigned, according to ditto 6

From

From Alexander's death to the æra of the Seleucidæ, or the first year of the reign of Seleucus Nicanor, according to Scaliger and Petavius, and the exactest chronologers 12

From the æra of the Seleucidæ to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Josephus, and all chronologers 149

From the death of Antiochus, to the taking of Jerusalem by Herod, according to Josephus 126

From the taking of Jerusalem by Herod, to his death 36

From the death of Herod, to the death of our Saviour 33

490

Thus the general calculation is not only supported by the testimony of the best historians, and the observations of the most accurate chronologers; but the truth of it is also proved by an exact agreement with Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years of the Jewish captivity, and the seventy weeks of Daniel, or the 490 years which were to intervene between the effectual commandment to rebuild and restore Jerusalem, and the passion of our blessed Lord. This exact coincidence, as it serves to rid commentators of all difficulties, by shewing, that, according to the best authorities, the prophecies had their accomplishment at the precise time foretold; so it serves perfectly to ascertain the truth of almost all those parts of the general calculation of the 2300 years, that are subject to any dispute. For, since I have shewn from the prophecy of Zechariah, and the book of Daniel and Ezra, that the beginning of the seventy years of the Jewish captivity, happened in the third year of Jehoiakim's reign; and that they must have ended in the sixth year of the reign of Darius: And since the time

time betwixt the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, and the end of Zedekiah's, is clearly fixed by scripture-history, as above ; and that the time allotted by Berosus for the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar, and by Xenophon and Ptolomy, for the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Smerdis, together with the first six years of Darius, added to the above scriptural chronology, exactly complete the seventy years ; therefore, from this exact coincidence of sacred and profane authors, whereby the accomplishment of the predicted seventy years captivity is clearly shewn, we may justly conclude, that in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, 23 years of the 2300 had then elapsed.

From this to the seventh year of the reign of his grandson Artaxerxes, there is no difference amongst chronologers, unless about the reign of Xerxes. But, of this afterwards.

The next part of the general calculation is, that large space of time between the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and the passion of our Saviour ; and, as I have shewn from the best evidence, that this period consists precisely of 490 years ; so the chronological deduction which I have made in the general calculation is infallibly ascertained by the prophecy in the 9th chapter of Daniel, 24th and 25th verses, compared with the 7th chapter of Ezra. For, having found by an exact collation of these two passages of sacred writ, that the beginning of the seventy weeks must have happened in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, when the *effectual commandment* was given to *restore and to build Jerusalem* ; and, that the end of these prophetic weeks, or 490 years must also have happened, according to the *clear marks* given of them in scripture, at the time of our *Saviour's passion* ; we may therefore, trusting to the infallible veracity of revelation, consider the intermediate space of time to

to be absolutely fixed and determined by the years mentioned in the prophecy, and conclude, upon the justest grounds, that there were precisely 490 years between the above events.

Having thus ascertained the time betwixt our Saviour's passion, and the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and found, that it exactly agrees with the above general calculation, taken from the best authorities; we may then, with great propriety, conclude, that the time fixed (by the reasons advanced in support of the general calculation) for our Saviour's nativity, namely, the beginning of the 4713 year of the Julian period, is much about the true time. And as, since that period, amongst the innumerable multitude of christian historians and chronologers of different sects and communions, there hath not been, nor could properly be, any difference concerning the years from that time to the present, unless about the year of our Saviour's nativity; so they all agree in this, that, if the nativity shall be fixed to the beginning of the 4713 of the Julian period, that 1771 years have passed since that time; and that, by adding to the above year of the Julian period 4713, 33 years and some months, the age of our Saviour at his crucifixion, as appears from the evangelists, our Lord's passion must have happened, according to this calculation, in the year of the Julian period 4746; and consequently the years which have elapsed since that time are precisely 1738, as in the general calculation.

Thus, I flatter myself, that the above long calculation is founded upon solid, nay, I had almost said immoveable foundations, namely, its exact coincidence with these two famous prophecies of Daniel and Jeremiah; and, where it is not supported by these, it is sustained by the universal agreement of historians and chronologers, excepting the interval betwixt the sixth year of the reign of Darius, and the

the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes. Here, I formerly observed, there was a difference betwixt Diodorus and Petavius, concerning the reign of Xerxes, the first affirming, that he had reigned twenty years without a partner, and the second, depending upon the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides, affirming he reigned only eleven years. These certainly deserve greater credit than Diodorus, who lived 400 years after them. Herodotus lived in the reign of Xerxes, and Thucydides a very little thereafter: And, I am persuaded, that whoever shall read their histories with care and impartiality, will be convinced, from the passages which I have quoted out of them, that Xerxes reigned eleven complete years and no more. But, that which puts the matter beyond all dispute is this, that, if we shall, according to Diodorus, allow nine years more to the reign of Xerxes, then the end of the two thousand three hundred years, when the sanctuary at Jerusalem was to be cleansed from all spiritual impurities, would have happened, consistently with the prophecy, about eight years ago. But, as this did not happen, and as the word of God cannot be broken, we have this additional argument for giving a preference to the above historians, being absolutely sure, from the non-accomplishment of that grand and important event, that, whatever fewer years Xerxes might have reigned, he could not have reigned any more than eleven; and the same objection stands against those who date our Saviour's nativity two or three years earlier than what I have done in the general calculation; and against those also, who date the beginning of the seventy weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when a second commission was given by him to Nehemiah to restore and build Jerusalem. This objection also stands in full force against all the accounts of time given by historians and chronologers,

chronologers, which in any respect differ from the above calculation; because, in all particulars in which any of them differ from it, they more or less contribute to bring the 2300 years to a period before the present time. I have only further to observe, that it is well known, that the above calculation was made a considerable time before the war brake out between the Turks and Ruffians, and am still of opinion, though it should fail as to a year or two, that it cannot be far from the truth.

A P.



A P P E N D I X

THE Author being apprehensive, that he have expressed himself, in the preceding essay, with such an appearance of positiveness, with respect to persons and events, as may be offensive to some delicate readers; he therefore judges it necessary again to declare, that he looks upon the whole, only in the view of probability; though, at the same time, he frankly owns, that so many concurring probabilities, concerning the near approach of such glorious and interesting events, may possibly have engaged him, upon some occasions, to express himself with less reserve than otherwise might have been expected.

The greatest part of the criticisms were made long ago, by men of the truest learning, and soundest judgment; and it is hoped, that such as are new will be found neither unnatural, nor any wise forced. As to the authorities and historical facts, these must be left to the examination of the reader.

If the author has fallen into some mistakes, (which, it is very likely hath been the case, in such an argument); yet he expects, that the whole performance shall not be condemned on their account; since he is conscious, that they were neither wilful, nor designed to serve any private views. Truth, and truth alone, has been the object of this enquiry; how far it is attained, the decisive moments will soon declare.

Whatever shall be the issue of the present commotions in Europe, the author hath the satisfaction to hope, that his performance can do no hurt, and

E. c.

that

that the generous public will shew some regard to a well-meant design. For, as Mr Mede long since observed, if a liberty is not granted, not only of thinking freely, but also of erring sometimes, we shall never be capable to reach the profound depth of this mysterious revelation.—But, if some are otherwise disposed, the author is prepared to bear with them; since,

Totus teres atque rotundus,

mea
Virtute me involvo.

Only, before the subject is dismissed, it may not be improper to do the following things, which, as they are not foreign to it, so they may serve to throw a light upon some of the assertions in the preceding essay; namely,

1. To remove a few prejudices, which the author finds to be entertained by some well disposed people, against the king of Prussia's character.
2. To shew that the last war should be considered as a religious one; or a war whereby the ruin of the protestant interest was designed. And,
3. To point out some appearances of the fall of papal government.

To begin with the king of Prussia's character. It doth not appear, that he hath been charged with any gross acts of vice, though, as a man, no doubt, he hath his faults. As to his religious principles, these have been sufficiently declared by his Confession of Faith, published some years ago, and fully demonstrated by the best argument of all, his steady attachment to the protestant interest, and the habi-
tual

tual exercise of those christian virtues, faith*, patience, fortitude, temperance, and humanity; so that,

* This is nobly expressed both in the speech which he made to his army, immediately before the battle of Rosbach, and in the Ode which he composed soon thereafter. In the speech, he puts his troops in remembrance of the many hardships and dangers he had shared with them; declares, that he was willing presently to lay down his life with them, and for them; and then concludes in these memorable words: *Acquit yourselves like men, and put your confidence in God.* And, in his divine Ode, having addressed the great Ruler of the Universe in the warmest strains of gratitude, he proceeds to point out his own deplorable situation before the battle, (which he does in the most moving terms); and then, in the following lines, he describes the heroic faith by which he was animated upon this great occasion:

*But in thy clear impartial fight,
How vain is human might!
Dauntless I dare the field,
Arm'd by my cause, at once both spear and shield.*

Some have imagined, that his history of the house of Brandenburg, and some of his poems, give them reason to question his christianity, at least his orthodoxy; and they even suspect his humanity, on account of his behaviour towards the Saxons, and other states.—With respect to his history of the house of Brandenburg, I don't see, that in it he renounces christianity, which he positively calls the *Purest Source of Good*. As to his orthodoxy, that is a quite different matter. He seems indeed to have had different sentiments concerning the doctrine of the Trinity from those adopted by the council of Nice, and to treat their tenets, or at least their expressions, with some degree of contempt; but hath not the reverend Doctor Chandler done the same in his introduction to the History of the Inquisition? and yet, I dare say, no body ever suspected him of Deism. I do not, however, make this observation with any design to justify either his, or the Doctor's conduct; but only to shew, that a man's differing from others, in his manner of conceiving some doctrines, or expressing himself concerning them, is no infallible sign of his being a Deist.

As to the poems which have been ascribed to him, though some of them are excellent in their kind; yet, it is evident, that they were surreptitiously introduced to the public: And we are told he hath positively affirmed, that they are not a genuine copy of his poems, and on that account, that he had ordered them

that, on this head, nothing seems necessary to be added to the voice of public fame. And, if some will still ascribe his best actions to the worst of motives, they must be put in remembrance, that charity thinketh no evil.

The only plausible objections against his character seem to be these :

1. His supposed injustice to the Queen of Hungary, by invading Silesia in the year 1740, though the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction, of which the king his father had been a guarantee. And,

2. His

to be burnt by the hangman at Berlin. For my part, I cannot think, that such a low and groveling principle, as the belief of the materiality, and consequent mortality of the soul, could have supported him during the last war, amidst such unprecedented dangers and difficulties. For I do not find, that any of the professed Atheists ever underwent such a series of trials, or that they bore their trials with such patience and magnanimity. And, I verily think, that we ought highly to regard those instruments whom God hath raised up for the defence of the Reformation, especially when they are possessed of many shining qualities, and are not chargeable with any gross acts of vice; and that, it is a piece of justice which we owe to every man, not to believe an evil report concerning him, but upon the clearest and most unexceptionable proof; nay, even when the matter lies *in dubio*, charity should incline us to lean to the favourable side.

With respect to the Saxons, I don't see that the king of Prussia, in his behaviour towards them, has either transgressed the laws of war or humanity; but, on the other hand, when I reflect upon the provocations which he received by the cruel butcheries of his subjects, I am obliged to admire his generosity, in not proceeding to very severe retaliations.

But, even tho' I should be mistaken with respect to his true character, yet this cannot destroy the probability of my general argument; since even Henry the Eighth was made the instrument of providence, in bringing about the reformation of England; and yet, I dare say, that every candid reader would from his heart despise the man, who should class with such a monster of lust and brutality, a prince, who has hitherto distinguished himself by the constant exercise of the most heroical virtues.

2. His invasion of Bohemia. in the year 1744, notwithstanding the peace of Breslau, whereby he had personally engaged not only to desist from all hostilities against the Queen of Hungary, but also not to assist any of her enemies.

But, if his behaviour, in these two instances, shall be considered with impartiality, it is hoped that neither of them will fix the charge of injustice upon him. For it appears from the declaration which he published when he entered Silesia, that he claimed the greatest part of that dutchy, as belonging to him by a just and legal right, arising from ancient conventions of family, and confraternity, between the house of Brandenburg and the princes of Silesia; and consequently, if this claim was just, Silesia could not be properly considered as any part of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

As this affair is placed in a clear point of light, by the judicious author of the Present State of Europe, the following account of it shall be given in his own words. He tells us *, That, "in the year 1686, the elector of Brandenburg came to an amicable conclusion with the emperor, in relation to a dispute which had long subsisted, concerning the principality of Jagerndorf, which the emperor had reunited to the kingdom of Bohemia, notwithstanding the claim made always to it by the elector; in compensation for which, he had the territory of Schweibusin, or the northern part of Silesia, yielded up to him, which the emperor afterwards found means to obtain back from his son, and successor, as we shall hereafter more largely explain." And again †;

"We have already shewn that the house of Brandenburg

* Edit. 5th, p. 122.

† P. 135, &c.

Brandenburgh had a very fair title to the principality of Jagerndorf, and other territories in that country, which the emperor, notwithstanding, united to the kingdom of Bohemia; but, as the elector still kept up his claim, and the house of Austria had great need of his assistance, it was found necessary to give him some satisfaction: And accordingly a treaty was set on foot at Berlin, in 1686, whereby it was stipulated, that the elector should renounce all the pretensions of his house to the principalities of Jagerndorf, Lignitz, Brieg, and Wolan, upon condition that the emperor should yield to the elector the territory of Schwibus. The Baron de Frytag, who managed this negotiation for the court of Vienna with the elector Frederick II. set on foot at the same time another clandestine treaty with the electoral prince Frederick, who was afterwards Frederick III. elector of Brandenburgh, though he is generally called Frederick I. because he was the first king of Prussia.

“ The nature of this secret negotiation was very dark; for there were some family-disputes, in which the emperor threatened to take part against the prince, if, at the same time, his father subscribed the treaty before mentioned, he did not subscribe an obligation to give up, as soon as it should be in his power, the territory of Schwibus for a small sum of money. Accordingly, when he became elector of Brandenburgh, the money was offered, and the territory demanded; but all the counsellors of the new elector advised him not to part with it, as he had been compelled to make this agreement, which in its own nature was therefore void: But the emperor Leopold insisting upon it, and threatening to use force, he yielded up the territory, but refused to confirm the renunciation made by his father of his rights. Upon this occasion,

caſion, he expreſſed himſelf to his miniſters in theſe words : I ſhall yield the territory of Schwibus; it becomes me to be as good as my word; I muſt, and I will do what I promiſed. As to my proſecuting my rights to Sileſia, I leave that to the care of my poſterity, whoſe hands I cannot, I will not bind, under my preſent circumſtances, when it is neceſſary for me to ſubmit to this injuſtice. If providence and time do not ſuffer the thing to take another turn, the only way is to be quiet; but, if God orders it otherwiſe, my deſcendants will know what to do.

“ Thus the reader has, in a few words, the nature of the King of Prussia’s claim. He repreſented both Frederick II. and Frederick III. conſequently the rights of both were in him; and as the houſe of Auſtria had taken away the equivalent, he conceived that he had a juſt title to the territories formerly in poſſeſſion of his family, viz. the principality of Jagerndorf, and other countries, of which he reſolved immediately to take poſſeſſion. He had two reaſons for acting in this manner, without any previous declarations made to the court of Vienna: The firſt was, that the male-line of the houſe of Auſtria being extinct, and the power of that family thereby weakened, he thought this a favourable opportunity of doing himſelf juſtice; and that he ſhould be wanting to himſelf, and his poſterity or ſucceſſors, if he neglected it: His ſecond, that the elector of Bavaria, and the king of Spain, forming pretenſions upon the emperor’s ſucceſſion, he was deſirous of reconciling his view of doing himſelf juſtice to the inclination he had of aſſiſting Maria Thereſia, Queen of Hungary, in maintaining her rights to her father’s dominions, agreeable to the Pragmatic Sanction.

“ At the ſame time, therefore, that he ordered his troops to march into Sileſia, which was in December

cember 1740, he declared to the court of Vienna, that, notwithstanding this step, he was disposed to promote the election of the duke of Lorraine to the imperial dignity; and that he was willing to advance the Queen of Hungary two millions of florins; and that he was ready to employ all his forces in defending her dominions against all her competitors. But these propositions were absolutely rejected; upon which a war ensued."

The author concludes thus: "It is to be observed, that in this article I am stating the claims, pretensions, and measures of his Prussian majesty, as matters of fact; and I am very far from taking upon me to decide, whether the former were well or ill founded, and consequently whether the latter were right or wrong."

Thus, from the above, it is evident, that the King of Prussia and his predecessors claimed Silesia as belonging to them by the justest title; and therefore it must follow, that his invasion of that dutchy cannot properly be deemed an act of injustice, until it shall be fully shewn that his title was a bad one; which hath not been attempted by any writer of character in this country, not even by the writer of the *Memoirs of the King of Prussia*, which were inserted in the *Literary Magazine* about the end of the year 1756. Though, from the strain of that performance, it doth not appear that the author had the smallest intention to lessen, or to conceal, either the real or imaginary faults of his Prussian Majesty; yet he doth not say, that the invasion of Silesia was unjust, but only that it was ungenerous. For, having observed, that, upon the emperor's death, many of the German princes fell upon the Austrian territories, he adds: "Among these, with whatever justice, certainly with very little generosity, was the king of Prussia." But, if this invasion was not unjust, which he does not pretend

pretend to say ; and if both charity and generosity ought to yield to justice, and be directed by prudence ; then I may be allowed to say, with as high an air of positiveness, that certainly the king of Prussia was a better judge than this author, concerning the propriety of his conduct upon this occasion ; and, until once it shall be fully and clearly proved, that his title to Silesia was ill founded, that he cannot be justly condemned.

It is true the king of Prussia was, in this war, upon an opposite side to us ; and, on that account, it is natural for us to think that he acted wrong ; but, if we shall divest ourselves of national prejudices, we will find, that, besides the claim which his family had to Silesia, he had as much reason to be afraid of the growing power of the house of Austria, then augmented by the grand duchy of Tuscany, as we of the ambitious and dangerous designs of France.

Neither doth the charge of injustice appear to be better founded, on account of his invading Bohemia, in the year 1744. For though, by the peace of Breslau, he had bound himself not to attack the Queen of Hungary, nor to assist her enemies ; yet, as the above-mentioned memoir-writer justly observes, " Every prince in the empire is obliged to support the imperial dignity, and assist the emperor when his rights are violated, and every subsequent contract must be understood in a sense consistent with former obligations ; nor had the king of Prussia power to make a peace, on terms contrary to that constitution by which he held a place amongst the German electors."

Now as, after the peace of Breslau, the Queen of Hungary, elated with success, proceeded to call in question the election of the emperor, declared the diet at Francfort, which had chosen him, illegal, and obliged the Bavarians to take an oath of

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allegiance

allegiance to her, without explaining whether temporary or perpetual ; whereby just ground was given to think, that she had formed a resolution to strip the elector of Bavaria, at once, both of his hereditary dominions, and the imperial dignity, that she might annex them to her own family ; such being the state of public affairs at this time, was it to be imagined that the king of Prussia should remain an indifferent spectator of those ruining and engrossing schemes ? As one who had given his vote for the election of the Duke of Bavaria, was he not bound to support the choice which had been made ? and, as a prince of the empire, was he not also bound to preserve his co-states from ruin and extinction ? especially as the emperor had then declared, that he was willing to renounce all pretensions to the Austrian territories, if he was restored to the possession of his own hereditary dominions. But this perhaps will appear more clearly by an example.

Let us suppose the reader and some other person had formerly been in a state of war, and afterwards that they had desisted from hostilities, and agreed not only to keep the peace, but also not to assist the enemies of either ; but that, some time after, this ancient enemy should proceed to wound the reader's father or brother, not in self-defence, but from a visible purpose to kill the other ; would the reader, in such a case, think his hands so tied up by the preceeding paction, as not to have it in his power to save his relation, though at the assassin's manifest expence ? I dare say he would not.

This seems to have been precisely the situation of his Prussian Majesty. He was willing to have lived on good terms with the Queen of Hungary ; but he could not suffer her to push her resentment and ambition too far, to the dishonour of the emperor, and the ruin of the Germanic constitution.

Hence

Hence he declared, in the manifesto which he published on this occasion, " That he had no particular quarrel with the Queen of Hungary, that he did not fight for any interest of his own, that he demanded nothing, but was determined to exert all his power in defence of the emperor, in vindication of the rights of election, and in support of the liberties of Germany, which the Queen of Hungary would enslave."

If we review his after behaviour, we shall find (notwithstanding all the invidious insinuations of his adversaries) that it exactly corresponded to these declarations. For, in the course of the war, he having thrice triumphed over his enemies, both Austrians and Saxons were at length obliged to receive such a peace as he would grant. In which he made no new claim of dominions, but, as the author of the Present State of Europe elegantly expresses it, " He, having overcome all his enemies, overcame his provocation and resentment, and, in the full warmth of victory, gave them a fair and equitable peace, by which the tranquillity of Germany was once more settled." To which we may add, that this peace was certainly a most seasonable one to the Austrians, since, at this very time, the French were carrying every thing before them in the Netherlands.

Having thus endeavoured to remove or prevent the above-mentioned prejudices, we proceed next,

To shew, that the last war ought to be considered as a religious one, or a war whereby the ruin of the Protestant interest was designed.

To such who are unacquainted with the genius and principles of popery, this may seem to be a mere chimera. They may fancy that the Empress-queen had nothing in view but the reduction of Silesia; the French nothing but the conquest of

Hanover,

Hanover, to pave their way for good terms in America; and the king of Poland the acquisition of some new territories. But is it not obvious, if these principal parties in the war had conquered the King of Prussia and his allies in the empire, that Holland must have fallen a prey to France, and Germany bended its neck to the Austrian yoke? whilst the king of Poland, as an equivalent for Saxony, might have been easily established in the absolute government of that weak and distracted kingdom; and the Russians, besides their subsidies, have had Luccal Prussia, and perhaps some territories of Poland added to their dominions. The plain consequence of all which would have been the suppression of the Protestant religion on the continent, and a furious attack upon Great Britain, with all the naval power of France and Holland, whilst neither Danes nor Swedes would have dared to interpose, for fear of sharing the fate of their neighbours.

That such was the grand object of the popish confederacy seems highly probable. For, is it conceivable, that the Empress-Queen would have put the Austrian Netherlands, which had cost so much blood and treasure, into the hands of her ancient and perfidious enemy, without any other view than the casual recovery of Silesia? Or, is it to be imagined, that the French would have so much neglected the war in America, and bended their greatest force into Germany, merely for the conquest of Hanover? Or, can it be supposed, that these two families of Austria and Bourbon, (who have been in a state of war for more than two centuries past), would all at once have joined in the strictest union, without the mediation of some people who had great influence on them both? And who could these possibly be, but the Jesuits and other popish clergy, who have been always at
the

the bottom of every plot and conspiracy formed against the Protestant interest? These deep politicians, who are confessors and preceptors to popish princes, are to be considered as the master-springs of the confederacy; and those weak, credulous, and superstitious princes, as so many puppets in the play. The former could set before them the advantages of the alliance, promise their assistance, and shew them a necessity for extirpating the Protestant states.

It is plain that the above reasoning amounts to a high degree of probability; but, not to rest the matter here, I shall lay before the reader certain facts, which put it beyond all manner of question.

I shall begin with the declarations of one, who, from his high station, and known attachment to the church of Rome, cannot be supposed a stranger to the general schemes; I mean the declarations of the archbishop of Paris, in his mandate issued August 11th 1757, for singing *Te Deum*, in all the churches of his diocese, on account of the French victory at Hastenbeck.

I though this prelate has the surprising effrontery to say in the mandate, "that the French King never broke his word, and never discovered the least desire to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours;" and though, according to the common dissingenuity of his party, he endeavours, in this public paper, to conceal his real sentiments; yet, in the warmth of his zeal, and fulness of his hopes, he abundantly discovers the intended plan, in these memorable sentences: "How has heaven blessed the efforts of our arms! at the very time that France is tying the knot of an alliance, the most rare and lovely, with the heirs of the power of the Cæsars. O age of Francis I. and Charles V. that you had seen this precious union! From what groans and distresses had the state and church been
relieved,

relieved, if the candor and generosity which now unite the descendants of these two great princes could have dissipated their mutual jealousies?" And again; "Soon will this union produce an universal peace, to the confusion of governments without faith, and without principle." And speaking of the Empress-Queen: "This great princess, (says he), sustained by French arms, is now able to root and destroy, to draw the sword from the scabbard, and to whet it for vengeance."

By which expressions he not only laments, that the union between France and Austria had not subsisted in the beginning of the reformation, (that so it might have been strangled in its very birth); but also declares, that he expected, from this alliance, the utter destruction of the protestant states, which, according to the common language of the church of Rome, he calls "governments without faith and without principle." And as one of the first prelates of that church, thus publicly declared himself concerning the object of the war, so all along it hath manifestly received her countenance and support.

Thus the pope, as an evidence of his singular approbation, conferred the title of Apostolic Majesty upon the Empress-Queen; and, by an article from Paris, of September 11th 1758, we are told, "That the assembly of the clergy had granted his Most Christian Majesty, a free gift of sixteen millions of livres as was demanded of them, and that he required the use of their name for borrowing fifteen millions more." And by another from Ratisbon, of the date August 10th 1758, "That the Emperor had obtained from the new pope a bull, empowering him to compel all archbishops, cloysters, abbeys, and other religious foundations in Germany, to pay him a tenth of their revenues, for defraying the charges of the present war." And also by a third from Inspruck, of February 6th 1758, "That the
pope

pope had granted a bull to the elector of Bavaria, permitting him to levy on the clergy of his dominions what sums may be necessary for keeping his troops in good order, furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, and defraying such other expences, as the support of the house of Austria, and catholic cause may require." And, if we consider the immense riches of the popish clergy, the secrecy and policy of the church of Rome, is there not reason to think, that, during the last war, the house of Austria has been supported from such latent and powerful resources? especially if we reflect how little it was capable to do in the former wars, without the assistance of our money; and how, in the last, the Empress-Queen not only maintained vast armies, but also paid her subsidies to Russia.

I might also mention the various artifices which were then used, to draw off the protestant princes in the empire to the communion of the church of Rome, which have been too successful upon the present prince of Hesse, and the reigning duke of Deux Ponts.

But the design of the war, as it respects religion, is placed in the clearest point of light, by the letters of Count Fleming the Saxon resident at Vienna, contained in the paper, intitled, "The king of England's conduct as elector of Hanover." In this, which is an answer to one from the French King, we have the following remarkable paragraph of a letter from Count Fleming, who, in his dispatches of June 9th 1756, (shortly after the alliance had been concluded between France and Austria), expresses himself thus: "Nevertheless, it is but too remarkable that it" (viz. the court of Vienna) "wants to get rid of all difficulties, and is bent on giving a different face to the affairs of religion in the empire, and to conquer Silesia." And, in a letter of the 16th of same

same month: "I am more and more persuaded, (says he), that the reflections which I have made in my former letters, and especially that of the 9th instant, are not without foundation; and I can no longer doubt, that the court where I am has formed a scheme, the principal objects of which are religion, and the recovery of Sillesia." And, as our late upright sovereign justly observed, "These are the sentiments of a person, whose penetration, and the confidence which the allied courts put in him, enabled him to discover the truth, and who had the intelligence which he sent to his court from the fountain-head."

In consequence of this deep-laid plot, that the house of Austria might have the appearance of law, for ruining the protestant states of the empire, we have an account of its early procedure in paving the way to such measures, by an article from Vienna of April 9th 1757; in which we are told, "That the states of the Upper Saxony, not having obeyed a rescript of February last, by which the emperor enjoined them to publish his avocatory letters, and, within the space of two months, to inform the Aulic council of the empire of the execution of this order, his Imperial Majesty has sent them a new rescript, dated April 5th, drawn up in much stronger terms than the former. They are now allowed but one month's respite: And if, within that term, they do not execute what is commanded them, *they are to be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the laws of the empire.* The Duke of Saxe-Gotha constantly refuses what is reckoned a duty incumbent upon him, as a director of that circle; and as, in the reasons which that prince advances for justifying his inaction, the Aulic council think there is nothing but a formal disobedience to the orders of the supreme head of the empire, they are resolved to make fresh remonstrances against him."

Hence

Hence it was observed, so early as the beginning of the campaign 1757, (and very justly too), "That, if the house of Austria and France should prove successful in this war, we might possibly see all the protestant princes in Germany put under the ban of the empire."

The author might next expatiate upon the horrible devastations, and shocking cruelties, which the protestant states have suffered, in consequence of this popish confederacy; (but these are indeed beyond all the powers of expression!); and upon the inhuman orders of marshal Belleisle to force the Hanoverians and Hessians to serve in the French armies, and to make their country a downright desert. These might be insisted on as specimens, and faint ones too, of what protestants might expect, if this confederacy had succeeded.

But I shall conclude this argument, by observing, that the late king, and both houses of parliament, not only invariably maintained, that the union of France and Austria threatened oppression to the protestant interest and the liberties of Europe, but also, in express words, declared (as appears from the king's speech, November 23^d 1758, and the consequent addresses of lords and commons) their full belief, "That this union was formed to oppress the cause of the protestant religion, and public liberty."

Since then it appears from the archbishop of Paris his mandate, from the edicts of the emperor and his council, and especially from count Fleming's letters, that one of the principal objects of the last war, on the part of France and Austria, was the extirpation of the protestant religion; since the pope all along promoted, encouraged, honoured, and supported this confederacy; since, wherever it was successful, the protestant states suffered most dismal calamities, and was threatened with all the fury of

an implacable enemy ; and since the late king and both houses of parliament, (who were certainly the best judges), so publicly declared, that the union of France and Austria was formed with a design to overthrow the reformed religion and the liberties of Europe ; methinks, after such a proof as this, that no sincere protestant, no true Briton, can stop one moment from concluding, that the last war ought to be considered as a religious one, or a war whereby the ruin of the protestant interest was designed.

The last thing proposed, was to consider the present appearances of the downfall of papal government.

Though this spiritual empire hath stood long, and, it must be owned, hath still the appearance of a vigorous old age ; yet if, with more accuracy, we shall examine its aspect and consider its relative state, we will find some striking symptoms of its approaching dissolution. Without insisting upon the present measures of the French court, in abolishing monasteries, and appropriating their revenues to the service of the state, or enlarging upon that ardent spirit of civil and religious liberty which hath so wonderfully diffused itself through the kingdom of France, notwithstanding the arbitrary and oppressive measures of its sovereign, which seems to forebode a speedy revolution in the state, and, of consequence, a considerable reform of the church ; I say, without enlarging upon these things, (which ought also to be taken into the account), I shall confine myself to the two following :

1. The disgrace under which the order of Jesuits hath fallen.

2. That grand confederacy which now appears to be forming amongst the great powers in the north.

With respect to the Jesuits, it is well known, that, as this order commenced a little after the reformation,

tion, so it soon extended its influence ; and, from that time, it hath been the principal support of the papal chair. For, such was the ignorance and superstition of all ranks and orders of people, for several centuries before the days of Luther and Calvin, that a few politic church men were capable to govern Europe, and to keep the christian world in awe. But, with the reformation, true learning and freedom of thought began to emerge ; and as these promised inestimable blessings to the temporal and spiritual interests of mankind ; so they threatened a mortal blow at that government which had so long tyrannized over both. For the bulk of the clergy were then so ignorant, and the impieties, absurdities, and immoralities of the church of Rome, were become so flagrant and abominable, that only a moderate share of learning seemed requisite to finish its overthrow.

In such circumstances, it was necessary that a new order of ecclesiastics should be formed, whose number, learning, policy, zeal, and resolution, should render them a fit match for their daring antagonists. None were to be admitted into this society, but persons of great natural and acquired parts, of deep policy, refined address, and who should stick at nothing to promote the interest of the court of Rome.

The new order of Jesuits fully answered their most sanguine hopes. As they were not confined to particular charges, were allowed to engage in trade, or any secular business ; so they quickly spread themselves through all those countries where popery was professed : In a short time they acquired immense riches ; and, by their consummate address, easily insinuated themselves into the good graces and confidence of emperors, kings, and princes, so that they became their confessors, preceptors, and counsellors of state.

Having

Having thus gained the tutelage of their tender years, they easily imbued the minds of their pupils with a deep veneration for the church of Rome, and a perfect abhorrence of the reformation; trained them up in the principles of false ambition, by sanctifying the grossest acts of injustice with the name of true zeal; and, by granting them criminal indulgences, they impaired and eradicated the natural sense of good and evil: And, having thus formed them to an absolute dependence upon their authority, they made themselves such necessary guides, that seldom any thing of importance hath either been projected, or executed, without their counsel and assistance. The learning of these fathers procured them respect; their penetration, esteem and confidence; their address, affection; their wealth, influence; and their profound dissimulation, the reputation of sanctity *.

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* It must be owned, that some Jesuits have given strong and convincing evidences of their sincere regard to many of the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion; but as the number of these is comparatively small, so it has been shewn by several popish and protestant writers, that such have never been initiated into the political mysteries of the society, nor admitted into their secret councils; but used only as tools to beget and preserve in the minds of others a veneration to the fraternity: Nay, farther, that so great is the refinement of their wicked policy, that their leaders, (whilst they are tutoring those whom they have imagined fit for their purposes), if they shall observe any of them to boggle at their impious maxims, or to start difficulties, they will seem to take no notice of their behaviour (for the present, but will be sure to order their spies to watch their future conduct, and by this means they soon find some plausible reasons for extruding them their society; founding their sentence not upon the objections which such persons had made to their doctrines, but upon some pretended irregularities, that being thus publicly stigmatized for certain supposed crimes, their future evidence may bear no faith, and consequently be, in no respect, prejudicial to the party. Vide Paschal's Letters. *Monita secreta Jesuitarum*, &c.

O how pitiable was the condition of those princes and people, who, though they had the light of the reformation shining around them, were thus imprisoned in darkest night! and, if a ray of truth glanced upon their minds, had it immediately obscured by bold assertions and subtle distinctions. No wonder that the pope should have bitterly lamented the late public disgrace of this useful order. For as, since the reformation, the Jesuits have been his best troops, and most faithful Janizaries; so, if once they shall sink into universal discredit, his authority must necessarily fall of course.

Their infamous character hath been often exposed by Protestant writers; but the sharpest and severest blow was at length given by one of their own communion; I mean the king of Portugal, who, in that famous edict, of the date September 3d 1759, expresses himself thus:

“ I declare the Jesuits corrupted, degenerate, in a most deplorable manner, from the first institution of their order, and too glaringly tainted with vice, the most infamous, abominable, inveterate, and incorrigible, to entertain the least hopes, that they shall ever return to a strict observation of the rules of their society. I declare them notorious rebels and traitors, dangerous enemies and aggressors, as well in time past, as at present, of my Royal person, my states, and the peace of my kingdoms, and of the public good of my faithful subjects; and I order all my people to hold and regard them as such. I declare them from this day, by virtue of the present law, unnaturalized, banished, and exterminated; and my will is, that they shall be drove out of my kingdoms, and lordships, so as never to be able to return. I forbid my subjects of all ranks and conditions whatsoever (under pain of death, without reprieve, and confiscation of goods
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and effects to my treasury and chamber-royal) to admit into my kingdoms or lordships the above-mentioned Jesuits, or any of them; or carry on with them, either separately or in a body, the least correspondence, either in word or writing, although even they should have left that society, or had been received into it, or possessed it, in other countries not under my dominion," And the reason of this is given in these words: "Because the deplorable corruption of these religious has most unhappily infected the whole body-collective of which the congregation of their society is composed," &c.

This edict may be thought very severe: But certainly the king of Portugal will be justified by all the laws of religion and morality; since this society had formed a scheme to strip him of his dominions in the West Indies; and their brethren at home, another to deprive him of his life.

If it shall be said, that the conduct of the Jesuits in these two instances were utterly inconsistent with the views of the court of Rome; and that, even before the attack was made upon the king of Portugal, a papal bull had been issued against the whole fraternity in his kingdom, forbidding them to teach there, under the pain of excommunication; and consequently, that they are not to be considered as the principal supporters of the papal authority, but as dangerous hypocrites, who regard nothing but their own interest.

To this it may be replied, that we ought not to form a judgment of the court of Rome, or of their scholars the Jesuits, either from some appearances, or their outward professions. The chief ingredients in the character of both are, and always have been, ambition, avarice, and dissimulation. And since they are intimately connected with, and so absolutely

absolutely depend on each other, it is highly probable, they have been joint accomplices in this horrid conspiracy. For we find that, a little before the assault was made upon the person of the king of Portugal, a strong party appeared in the court of Rome, for annulling all that had been done against the Jesuits in that kingdom. This, no doubt, was intended as a prelude to the revocation of the papal bull, which certainly would have happened, if the designed assassination had taken place.

But that which puts this matter beyond all question, is the behaviour of that court, since the discovery of the plot. Instead of excommunicating these notorious assassins, it hath countenanced them, and hitherto preserved them from the stroke of public justice. This must be considered as a clear proof, that its members were *socii criminis*; and it is impossible for them to wipe off the infamy, whilst they grant their protection to the homicides.

If it shall be asked, what expectations could the court of Rome have formed from the conquest of Paraguay, or the murder of a Catholic prince? It may be answered, very great hopes from both. For as the death of the king of Portugal would have paved the way to the conquest of Paraguay; so this, in process of time, might have given them the command of both the Indies *.

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* Of late, we have also had some accounts of a scheme set on foot by the Jesuits, for extending the temporal dominion of Rome into North-America; and it is not unlikely that a project, somewhat similar to this, was secretly advancing in such kingdoms of Europe where they had any prospect of success. This will appear to be no matter of surprize, if we consider that learning has now so universally spread itself into all the courts of Europe, that the old argument from pretended miracles, whereby they enforced their impious doctrines, and absurd tenets, cannot

now

But to return; since the king of Portugal narrowly escaped the snare that was laid for him, is there not reason to presume, that his brother-in-law and sister, the king and queen of Spain, did lose their lives by means of this fraternity, the one by a quicker, and the other by a slower poison? For as this is the surest and safest method of assassination, so doubtless it would have been practised upon the king of Portugal, if he had not, a little before, prevented it by their exile from his court. But this precaution not being used by the king of Spain, and he being equally obnoxious to their malice, on account of his opposition to their measures in Paraguay; it is therefore highly probable, that he and his queen fell secret victims to their ambition and revenge.

This probability is further strengthened, if we consider, that the Queen of Spain died on the 27th August 1758; that immediately the king sickened, became delirious, and wholly incapacitated for managing public affairs; and that a few days after, viz. the 3d day of next month, the king of Portugal was way-laid, wounded, and with the greatest difficulty escaped with his life.

Now, if the king of Portugal had been murdered, and one had succeeded to him according to the Jesuits wish; then surely nothing could have happened more promising to their interest (if it had been the effect of deepest design) than the deaths of the king and queen of Spain, and the manner
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now (unless among the ignorant and unlearned) be of any farther use. These deep politicians must necessarily see, that the whole fabric of superstition and idolatry will be in the utmost danger of tumbling down, if a new and more powerful argument for over awing the consciences of men does not speedily take place.

of them. For, by the queen's death, the connection between the two courts was, in a great measure, broken; and, as the king was incapable either to act, or to resign, so, during the remainder of his life, the government of Spain was almost quite suspended, that it could not with any vigour exert itself for the benefit of the nation, and far less for the support of its allies. And if, at this critical point of time, the measures of the Jesuits had succeeded in Portugal, it is impossible to say, how far they might have carried their scheme, especially as the king of Spain continued near a twelve-month in the above miserable condition. If we lay these things together, doth there not arise a probability, that what was intended against the king of Portugal was accomplished upon the king and queen of Spain?

But, whatever there may be in this, yet since his Portuguese majesty hath clearly proved, that the Jesuits (under pretence too of entertaining their disciples with spiritual exercises!), have been the principal authors of these sanguinary purposes, which were formed, and almost executed upon him; it is therefore hoped, that this will be a warning to all popish princes to withdraw that confidence which they formerly reposed in the members of this society. And, if this confidence shall once be removed, (which probably will be the case, after what hath happened in Portugal), then the order will necessarily fall into contempt, and in proportion as its character lessens, the authority and influence of papal power must gradually diminish*.

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Thus,

* The Jesuits seem to have suffered greatly in their reputation and interest, throughout almost all the popish kingdoms in Europe, especially in France, where such severe arrests have been lately

Thus, as the present disgrace of the Jesuits seems to preface the approaching fall of the Latin church, so the grand confederacy now in agitation between the Empress of Russia * and the Kings of

lately made by the parliaments of that kingdom against them, as threaten the total suppression of that once formidable order. These, we are told, were occasioned by a law-suit, which had been commenced against one of the society before the parliament of Paris, where, in the course of the pleadings, the principles, regulations, and practices of that fraternity were clearly shewn to be utterly inconsistent with all the laws of morality, and with the peace and safety of civil government. Even the king himself seems to be under a necessity of withdrawing from them his protection. In short, the opposition hath risen up to such a height against them, that the full exertion of papal infallibility seems absolutely necessary to divert the blow.

N. B. Since the former edition of this essay was published, the Jesuits have been banished the kingdoms of France and Spain, and from all the dominions belonging to the princes of the house of Bourbon.

* I find that some are apprehensive, if the Russians shall conquer the Ottoman empire, that, by this vast acquisition, they will be raised to such a height of power, both by land and sea, as will endanger the liberties and independency of the rest of the states and kingdoms in Europe. I shall, indeed, very readily grant, if the Russians, upon the supposed acquirement of such a power, shall continue to act in concert with the king of Prussia, that their union may give a just alarm to the houses of Austria and Bourbon; and that it may not only operate to their hurt, but at length be the principal occasion of their ruin, and of introducing a new constitution of civil and religious government, throughout the different kingdoms of Europe upon the continent. But that Russia, even after the conquest of Turkey, can never rise to be a very formidable power by sea, without the constant assistance of Britain, or of other maritime powers, will evidently appear, if we shall consider the great distance betwixt the two supposed seats of government; and that none of them, by reason of their situation, can ever be places of great trade; as Petersburgh lies at the bottom of the gulf of Finland, and Constantinople is of difficult access, and all the ports of the Levant are at a great distance from the Atlantic ocean. And if, after such a supposed acquisition, the rage of conquering should still remain, it is obvious, that Persia, India, and China, would be more inviting objects to the ambition of the

Prussia and Denmark, (to which, it is probable, Britain and the rest of the protestant states, will soon accede), seems strongly to forebode its utter extinction*.

But,

the Russians, and could be more easily subdued by them, than perhaps any single great power in Europe; and also, that, if ever they shall lay the foundations of a great and permanent empire, it must be circumscribed within a narrower compass than that which at present bounds the dominions of Russia and Turkey. It must then be the wisdom of Great Britain to cultivate and maintain the closest friendship and alliance with the court of Russia; because it is at too great a distance from us to do us harm, may be of great advantage to our trade, and the most effectual check to the ambitious and tyrannical schemes which undoubtedly were formed against us, and the other Protestant states in Europe, before the commencement of the last war; and which, if we do not continue our alliance with Russia, it is highly probable that our inveterate enemies will again attempt to execute against us.

* Perhaps we might also consider the terrible earthquakes, which have been lately felt over all Europe, as signs of the speedy downfall of papal Rome. For since it is evident from the effects, that there must be an infinitely-wise Being, who presides over the universe; and since our Saviour hath expressly declared, that "the very hairs of our head are numbered," and that not so much "as a sparrow falls to the ground, without our heavenly Father;" we cannot then imagine, (without being guilty of infidelity and atheism too) that these dreadful convulsions of nature can happen without the concurrence and agency of the God of nature. And since it would be equally absurd and blasphemous, to think that these, and the like preternatural exertions of his power, were merely designed to affrighten the sons of men with the terrors of his Omnipotence, or to sport himself with the destruction of his creatures; so they must be conceived as designed to promote some wise and good purposes; such as, the manifestation of the righteousness of his government, in punishing the despisers of his authority; or of his mercy and faithfulness in preserving his dutiful servants; or to awaken the attention of thoughtless mortals, to consider the importance of a new revelation; or as signs of the near approach of some grand revolution. Thus, to vindicate the equity of his government, he brought a deluge upon the old world, rained fire and brimstone upon the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, drowned the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and caused the earth to open its mouth
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But, before I have done, I beg the indulgence of my readers, until I shall again lay before them these sentiments which occurred, and those hopes I had formed, before the conclusion of the last war; and what improvement should be made of these reflections, if we would reasonably wish to be saved from the dangers that now surround us. After I had mentioned the glorious success of our arms, and

and swallow up Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their associates; all which were visibly designed as proper punishments of their daring and incorrigible wickedness: Whereas, on the other hand, Noah and his family, Lot and his daughters, Moses and the Israelitish nation, were saved from these awful judgments. Again, they have sometimes been designed to awaken mankind seriously to attend to the importance of some new revelation. Thus, at the giving of the law, Mount Sinai shook from its foundations; and at our Lord's crucifixion, the earth did quake and the rocks were rent. Lastly, they have been intended as signs of the near approach of some grand revolution. And thus Matthew, 24th chapter, 7th verse, our Saviour mentions, among other signs of the approaching destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, (whereby an end was to be put to the Jewish priesthood and sacrifices) that "there would be earthquakes in divers places." Now, as the late earthquakes have not been accompanied with any new revelation, nor attended with fatal consequences, in any kingdom of Europe, Portugal excepted; so do not those tremendous convulsions of nature (which have been almost universally perceived throughout this northern quarter of the globe) seem to portend some great revolution therein, including in it the overthrow of that government, which, at present, and for many centuries past, hath borne the supreme sway in the Christian world, to the visible oppression of God's true church? and may not even the earthquake at Lisbon be supposed, not only as a judgment upon these gross idolaters, but also as bearing a respect to some future and still more awful event? For is it not very remarkable, that it happened on the very day which was annually set apart for the torturing to death, such who were suspected of Protestant principles? and that the above calamity fell entirely upon the papists, whilst the reformed among them wholly escaped. This was certainly "the doing of the Lord;" and may it not be conceived as typical of the future deliverance of his people, and of a more signal stroke upon the supporters of idolatry? especially if we reflect on the late proceedings against the Jesuits in that kingdom.

and the noble stand that had been made by our illustrious allies, I then expressed myself in the following manner:

" Since the Almighty hath granted such remarkable success to the British arms, (which, it is to be presumed, hath, in a great measure, been bestowed, on account of the generous aid given to the sinking cause of religion and liberty;) since we have a most promising king, in the very flower of his age, noble patriots at the helm, able officers, and victorious troops; and, which crowns all, perfect unanimity amongst ourselves, and an absolute confidence in our allies; under God, then, what have we to fear? what may we not expect? The dawn of universal liberty begins to break, the clouds to fly away, and the prospect to brighten apace. And, as Britain hath largely contributed to usher in this glorious day, so may we not hope, that she shall as liberally share in the blessings of its happy reign?

Nothing surely can rob us of our hopes, but either an ignoble peace, or ingratitude to the ministers, fleets, and armies who have raised the glory of Britain to the highest pitch; or lastly, our sinking into that state of luxury and effeminacy, in which we were unhappily immersed, at the beginning of the present war. An ignoble peace cannot be supposed, whilst our patriot sovereign rules the state: And the other two evils cannot much be feared, if the good and virtuous should once join hand in hand to promote the general good."

Thus I too hastily indulged those pleasing hopes, at the above grand and illustrious period. Nor, according to outward appearances, could they be deemed too high: For Britain was then in the zenith of her glory, idolized by her children, revered by her friends, and dreaded as the thunderbolt of heaven by her conquered and dejected enemies. Then wisdom ruled the state, courage and
diligence

diligence executed her orders, and public spirit animated the whole. But, alas! what a sad reverse hath happened? how soon did the crown fall from her head? and the fine gold become dim? Instead of concord and public spirit, selfishness, hatred, and distrust, succeeded; and instead of wise and steady measures, folly and fluctuation too much prevailed.

It would ill become a private man, remote from the scene of public action, and much a stranger to the real characters of the principal actors and springs of conduct, to assume the authority of a judge, by condemning some and applauding others. It is more than probable, that all parties are, in some respects, guilty; and that few individuals are wholly free from blame. It were much to be wished, that, upon reflection, they would correct their errors, and, instead of persecuting one another, they would now unite, in a friendly manner, to heal the wounds of their country, and to restore the constitution to its proper dignity.

But this cannot well be expected till a reformation shall take place amongst the great. There may, indeed, be a change of men, and of measures also, to the better, especially when the nation is alarmed by the terrors of a foreign war; but these will never continue long, whilst corruption and venality, luxury, and impiety, prevail amongst the higher orders of men. These vices naturally descend to the lower, and, like a dreadful plague, have greatly corrupted the whole body. The ax, then, must be laid to the root of that tree, (whose bewitching fruit hath tainted every rank), before we can reasonably expect the continued practice of public and of private virtue. With pleasure, however, it must be owned, that amidst the above flagrant vices, some virtues appear with an uncommon lustre; such as charity to the poor, humanity, and a general regard
to

to the laws of justice, (when parties in the state do not shamefully interpose) and also, that there are some persons in the highest, and many in lower stations, whose exemplary piety and virtue, whose learning and extensive knowledge, their love of liberty, and hatred of vice and tyranny, not only reflect an honour upon the nation, but also upon the age in which they live. And, therefore, as one who fervently wishes the prosperity of his native country, I shall again conclude this essay as formerly.

If then, men of rank and fortune, of power and authority, would associate themselves for the public interest, and set before the nation some fair examples of sincere and unaffected devotion, of probity, temperance, public spirit, and universal benevolence, these would soon gain upon the minds of others; whilst impiety and profaneness, bribery and corruption, riot and sensuality, would fly before their face: For such is the energy of good example, that it gives strength to the law, and is infinitely superior to all its sanctions. And, if the virtue of one man hath often saved a nation, and raised its glory, what would the united force of some thousands do? Farther, how pure and exalted are the home-felt joys of public virtue, in honouring the good, rewarding the deserving, encouraging the industrious, protecting the injured, and supplying the wants of the poor and needy! or, according to the inimitable stile of scripture, in being a "refuge to the oppressed, eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, a father to the poor, and causing the widow's heart to sing for joy!

A few such examples might spread universal felicity; and thus, without feeling any remarkable shock, we might gently glide into the millennial state. And though the torrent of vice should so far prevail, as in a great measure to frustrate the noble efforts of the virtuous few; yet they shall certainly

tainly be blessed with the secret satisfaction of having done their duty; and conscious integrity is a never-failing source of joy. Besides, the providence of God is particularly engaged in behalf of the truly good, to preserve them in the midst of public calamities; and their names, however obscured for a little, will afterwards "be held in everlasting remembrance."

F I N I S.